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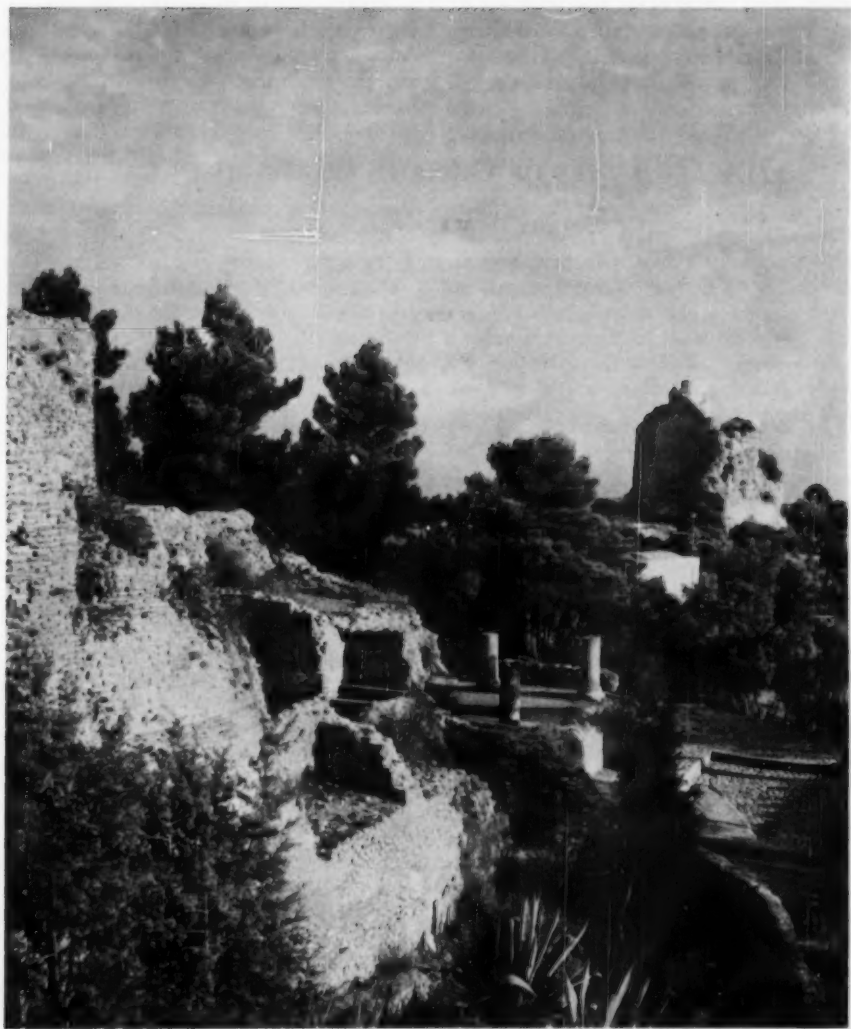
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photograph from the Fototeca di Architettura e Topografia dell'Italia Antica

Capri, Villa Iovis and lighthouse

THE *LEGIS DIES* OF CAESAR'S COMMAND IN GAUL

ARTHUR F. STOCKER

BY ANCIENT AUTHORITIES, both contemporary and otherwise, we are tolerably well informed about the dispute between Julius Caesar and his political opponents which culminated in the crossing of the Rubicon early in January, 49 B.C. To be sure, some of the facts are obscured behind the clouds of propaganda which emanated from both sides of the controversy, and the motives of the principals to the dispute cannot in all instances be clearly discerned. Certainly not all the proposals advanced during the period of negotiation which preceded the final rupture were meant to be taken seriously; the technique of offering to do one thing if your adversary will do another, which, it is well known, he cannot or will not do, is by no means an invention of mid-twentieth century diplomacy. Still, it is clear enough that Caesar, who by his irregular conduct as consul in 59 B.C. had laid himself open to prosecution *de vi* and perhaps on other counts, could not afford to divest himself of the protecting cloak of the *imperium*, at least while his enemies controlled the machinery of government in Rome, and therefore that it was vitally necessary

for him to pass directly from his governorship of the Gauls into a second consulship, while his opponents, on the other hand, strengthened by the adherence of Pompey to their cause, were equally determined that this should not happen.

Since the question so manifestly reduced itself to these terms, it is a little surprising that no one of the ancient sources identifies or points with any degree of conviction to the date on which Caesar's proconsular command was legally to end. Modern opinions have ranged widely. Gerard Walter, his recent biographer, states flatly that his governorship came to an end in March, 50.¹ C. E. Stevens would place the terminal date between July 31 and the early part of October, 50,² F. E. Adcock on November 13, 50,³ W. Judeich on December 29, 50⁴ and Theodor Mommsen, whose view is probably still the most widely held, on February 28, 49.⁵

Whatever may have been the date on which it was contemplated that his proconsulship should end, there can be no doubt when it began. A tribunician law, the *lex Vatinia*, enacted during

Caesar's first consulship, superseded arrangements for the consuls of 59 which had been made by the senate in accordance with the provisions of the Sempronian Law, and conferred upon him an exceptional command of five years' duration in Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum.⁶ To this, upon the death of Metellus Celer, the governor-designate, the senate itself added Transalpine Gaul, "fearing," according to Suetonius,⁷ "lest, if they themselves should have refused it, the people would grant this also," perhaps, too, reasoning that, if proconsul for five years the hated Caesar was to be, he should at least be sent where there was a good chance of his getting into serious trouble. Caesar's military capabilities were as yet largely untested, and his enemies had some grounds for hoping that the Gauls would be able to cut him down to size. The effective date of the Vatinian Law is not specified in the accounts of its enactment, and it is clear that Caesar did remain in Rome throughout the year of his consulship. From Cicero's oration *De Provinciis Consularibus*, however, delivered in 56, we know that this command was to extend through February, 54,⁸ and so that the *quinquennium* must have commenced on March 1, 59.

The first *quinquennium*, therefore, must have run for ten months concurrently with his consulship, an arrangement which, although unusual, was not without parallel. It will be seen shortly that a similar overlap must have existed between Crassus' second consulship (55) and the proconsular command in Syria conferred upon him by the *lex Trebonia*. The beginning of March, moreover, was not an uncommon date for the actual change of command in the overseas provinces, since it was rare for a governor who had been regularly appointed to reach his duty sta-

tion before the spring of the year. Caesar himself may also have had reasons of his own for welcoming a military command during the last ten months of his consulship. This gave him the right to levy and maintain troops at a time when tempers in the city, frayed by the disregard for normal constitutional procedures on the part of the triumvirate, were in danger of getting out of hand.

Some time during the second consulship of Pompey and Crassus, in 55, seemingly in accordance with an agreement reached by the triumvirs at Luca, Caesar's command was extended by the *lex Pompeia Licinia*. The sources are not in complete agreement about the length of time which was added to it. Dio Cassius says it was three years, and writes as though he were correcting a popular misapprehension to the contrary;⁹ consistently with this assertion he later attributes to Antony, in his funeral oration over the dead Caesar, the statement that the people had granted to the late dictator what had befallen no other man during the history of the Republic, to wit, to hold a command for eight consecutive years.¹⁰ The bulk of ancient testimony, however, including the witness of Suetonius,¹¹ Plutarch,¹² Appian,¹³ and inferentially of Cicero,¹⁴ terms the extension one of five years, and this preponderance can hardly be set aside. Perhaps Dio was deceived by the fact that Caesar did not actually assume his position in Gaul until the beginning of 58, and that the initial steps toward superseding him were taken early in 51, in his eighth year.¹⁵

Much more critical is the question of the law's effective date. Some plausibility would seem to attach to the assumption that the two *quinquennia* were to run consecutively, and that, if the first can be shown to have ended

on February 28, 54, the second would run until February 28, 49. There are, however, as will soon appear, excellent reasons for believing that the *lex Pompeia Licinia* had expired before that date, and there were elements, too, in the situation obtaining in 55 which pointed toward a different arrangement. It seems clearly to have been agreed by the triumvirs at Luca that each of the three should enjoy an extraordinary military command of five years' duration. Pompey's and Crassus' were conferred by the same enactment, the *lex Trebonia*,¹⁶ and Crassus' must certainly have begun before the thirteenth of November, since about that time he departed, *paludatus*, for Syria,¹⁷ after recruiting the ill-starred legions which were to share with him the disaster at Carrhae. According to Dio, the *lex Pompeia Licinia* was passed at nearly the same time.¹⁸ If the commands created by the *lex Trebonia* began some time prior to November 13, 55, they would expire on the same date, minus one day, in 50, and it is tempting to suppose that Caesar's term had the same limits. To anyone who might object that there was an anomaly in adding five years to Caesar's term in Gaul before the first grant of power had expired, it may be rejoined that three years later Pompey secured exactly the same sort of extension for himself, a new five-year term in Spain when the *lex Trebonia* still had two more years to run.¹⁹

In 55, the triumvirs were on reasonably good terms and the circumstances which arose in 51-49 could not have been foreseen. Had the mechanisms of government at Rome continued in friendly hands, Caesar would have had no difficulty in attaining a second consulship and a further prolongation of the *imperium* upon which his personal security depended. After the year 55,

however, the political climate changed radically.

In 53, Crassus died at Carrhae, and the triumvirate ceased to exist. Only Caesar and Pompey were left, and the bond between them had been seriously weakened the year before by the death of Julia, Caesar's daughter, who had married Pompey in 59.

In 52, the so-called "Law of the Ten Tribunes" conferred upon Caesar the right to stand for the consulship in *absentia*, that is, without coming to Rome and canvassing for the office in person.²⁰ This was important, because a proconsul could not enter the city without resigning his *imperium*, and that, as aforementioned, was something which Caesar could not afford to do. However, later in the year Caesar's position was rendered somewhat ambiguous by an enactment restating, in general terms, the requirement that a candidate for any public office must file in Rome.²¹ To be sure, when it was pointed out that the effect of this law would be to rescind the privilege which had been accorded to Caesar, Pompey, as consul, on his own authority, added a codicil to the effect that this had not been its intent,²² but the standing of any such codicil was at the very least open to question and the grounds were laid for challenging Caesar in the exercise of his special privilege, if at the time it seemed expedient to do so.

Further in 52, at the instance of Pompey, the Sempronian Law regarding the allotment of provinces was superseded by the provision that pro-magistracies were to be filled, not, as heretofore, by the holders of the corresponding magistracies in Rome the year before, but by persons who had held them at least five years previously.²³ The effect of this change was to deprive Caesar of the benefit of the "Law of the Ten Tribunes," upon which he had

been counting to enable him to pass directly from his proconsulship into a second consulship at Rome. For it now became possible to send a successor to Caesar in Gaul on the very day when the *lex Pompeia Licinia* should expire, and not at the beginning of the next calendar year, as would previously have been normal. So the dreaded lapse into the status of a 'private citizen' would take place, and it counted for nothing that Caesar would be able, if he liked, to offer himself as a candidate for the consulship the next year without coming to Rome. He would be vulnerable to impeachment, his candidacy might be rejected, as Catiline's had been, in 66, and his enemies, of whom Pompey began to look more and more like one, would be in a position to accomplish his ruin.

Since Caesar could no longer count on an automatic extension of his "second term" in Gaul until his successor should arrive, at the beginning of the next calendar year, the technically terminal date of the *quinquennium* conferred upon him by the *lex Pompeia Licinia* becomes a matter of much more importance, and we are now ready to come to grips with the question what it really was. Surely it was *not before* the early months of 50, as the law was passed in 55 and there is no reason why its effectiveness should have been back-dated. Surely it was *not later than* March 1, 49, which would be ten years after the effective date of the *lex Vatinia*. And in this connection it may be pertinent to recall that Dio Cassius, while almost certainly wrong in thinking of a three-year extension of Caesar's command, did feel that he had a misapprehension to correct, and this may have been the entirely natural one that the sum of five years provided by the *lex Vatinia* and five years provided by the *lex Pompeia Licinia* was

ten—it was somewhat less than that, if, as is inherently not improbable, an "overlap" existed between them.

As early as May, 51, the consul Marcellus was agitating the question *de successione provinciarum*.²⁴ Appian ascribed to him the wish "to send successors to take command of Caesar's provinces before his time had expired," and adds that "Pompey interfered, making a pretence of fairness and good will, saying that they ought not to put an indignity on a distinguished man who had been so extremely useful to his country, *merely on account of a short interval of time*; but he made it plain that Caesar's command must come to an end immediately on its expiration."²⁵ It was certainly unrealistic for Marcellus to entertain, if in fact he did so, the notion of superseding Caesar in Gaul before the grant of power conferred upon him by the people had expired, and any such move can only be set down as a gratuitous display of bad temper. For purposes of the present discussion, however, the important thing to notice is that Pompey, whatever his true feelings with regard to the supersession of Caesar may have been, thought the game not worth the candle because of the "short interval of time" involved. A *terminus post quem* for the expiration of the *lex Pompeia Licinia* has already been distinguished, in the early months of 50, and the spring of 51 would seem rather long even before that for the interval between them to be termed "short." At the very least, Appian's understanding must have been that the *legis dies* occurred some time in 50; no date in 49 could conceivably be regarded as separated by a "short interval" from any part of Marcellus' consulship in 51.

On June 1, 51, the date on which Marcellus had said that he would refer the matter of the succession of the

provinces to the senate, the question did not come up, and Caelius wrote to Cicero that *Marcelli impetus resederunt non inertia sed, ut mihi videbatur, consilio*.²⁶ Two months later, however, on August 1, Caelius reported that a decision had been reached, in consultation with Pompey, to lay the problem before the senate as soon as Pompey should have returned from Ariminium, about the middle of that month.²⁷ Evidently Pompey regarded discussion as by then no longer premature, and, while it is impossible to define the boundary between the reasonable and the unreasonable in a case such as this, it seems only barely conceivable that the matter should have been regarded as a live issue on August 1, 51 if the *legis dies* had not fallen some time in 50, and more probably early in 50 than late. For, now that the provisions of the Sempronian Law with regard to the allotment of provinces had been superseded, there was no reason for naming Caesar's successor more than a few months before he would be in a position to take office.

Actually, the fifteenth of August passed without incident. A parliamentary wrangle precluded any action, and Caelius began then to foresee a deadlock of more than two years in his *tricis* ("over these technicalities").²⁸ Why, it may be asked, if the *lex Pompeia Licinia* was to expire soon enough so that discussion of Caesar's successor was appropriate, should Caelius have foreseen a deadlock of two years or more? The answer is to be found in the requirements of Caesar's own position. An interval of at least ten years was prescribed by law between two terms in the consulship. To be sure, the law was not always observed; Pompey had been consul in 55, and became consul again in 52. But, with his enemies in control of things at Rome, Caesar

could hope for no such dispensation, and, failing that, he could not stand for the consulship until the summer of 49, to hold office in 48. Indeed, in the *De Bello Civili* he makes a virtue of the fact that he "had sought no extraordinary office, but, awaiting the lawful time for the consulship, had been satisfied with the privilege which was open to every citizen."²⁹ So, in August, 51, seeing at last the lengths of obstruction to which Caesar's tribunes were ready to go, Caelius said in effect, "It looks to me now as though no successor to Caesar can be named before 49, at the earliest, when Caesar, availing himself of the privilege conferred upon him by the 'Law of the Ten Tribunes,' can stand for the consulship in 48."

On September 29, 51, the senate voted that the consuls for the following year, L. Paulus and C. Marcellus, should raise the question of the consular provinces as the sole order of business on March 1, 50.³⁰ At about the same time Pompey, who had perhaps met with Caesar or his emissaries in the late summer of 51, observed that he could not, *sine iniuria*, take any decision touching Caesar's provinces before March 1, 50, but that after this date he would not hesitate.³¹ Some significance must attach to the date March 1, 50, for Pompey to feel that its coming would produce such a decided change in the right and wrong of the matter. It may even have been the *legis dies*; no other date would seem to have a better claim. On the other hand, it may merely have been the date when the disposition of the provinces for 49 would normally be made. At any rate, three months later, in June, 50, the controversy was no nearer solution than ever, and Caelius informed Cicero that Pompey and the senate were now inclined to a compromise, whereby Caesar would be superseded on November 13; that, how-

ever, Caesar's tribune, Curio, *omnia potius subire constituit quam id pati* — as well he might, for, to a man in Caesar's position, the compromise accorded little of value. The consuls did not take office until January 1, and any arrangement whereby Caesar would spend even six weeks without the *imperium* posed dangers that he could not afford to contemplate. Caelius' further comment is revealing: "This," he writes, "is the setting for the whole affair: Pompey, as it were not attacking Caesar but offering a proposition which he thinks fair to him, says that Curio is fomenting discord; but he is emphatically unwilling, and clearly fears, that Caesar should be designated as consul before he gives up his army and his province."³²

It is apparent that the *legis dies* must have fallen prior to whatever November 13 the peace-makers had in mind, as no claim of fairness could have been made for any proposition which would deprive Caesar of the smallest part of the *quinquennium* to which he was entitled by the *lex Pompeia Licinia*. Unfortunately, it is not entirely clear whether the date proposed was November 13, 50 or November 13, 49; Hardy thinks the latter,³³ and reasons that Caelius had no need to specify that it was not the next occurrence of the Ides of November to which reference was made, since his correspondent, Cicero, and everyone else would have known that the issue revolved around the closing months of 49, before Caesar should assume his contemplated consulship in 48. This is improbable on two counts. The first is that by November 13, 49, Caesar quite certainly would have been designated consul; at least his enemies appear to have entertained no hopes of defeating him at the polls, whatever other devices they might employ to deprive him of

the second consulship he so desperately wanted. If Pompey really was "emphatically unwilling . . . that Caesar should be designated as consul before he gives up his army and his province," he could never have endorsed a compromise extending the Gallic command to November 13, 49. Second, the urgency which seems to have been felt by both parties to the struggle is enough in itself to impugn the supposition that a date seventeen months after Caelius' letter was at stake. Rather, Caesar's command must already have ended, or been about to end, and Pompey's proposal, superficially "fair" to Caesar, can hardly have been other than that he be left undisturbed in it until November 13, 50. This, while adding something to it, would nevertheless allow his opponents plenty of time to accomplish their designs against him before he should be "designated as consul" in the summer of 49.

It need only be added that in December, 50, Cicero, writing to his friend Atticus, apostrophizes the absent Caesar, tells him, *praeterit tempus . . . legis*, and asks reproachfully, *exercitum tu habes diutius quam populus iussit, invito senatu?*³⁴ By the second week in January, 49, matters had come to a head and the Civil War was in full swing. Would this have happened, we must ask, if the *legis dies* had still lain six weeks in the future, on February 28, 49? And, if his opponents really had moved to deprive him of a portion of his allotted second *quinquennium*, would Caesar have failed to make a point of the fact in the self-justificatory passages of the *De Bello Civili*?³⁵ The only reasonable answer to both questions would seem to be in the negative.

The *legis dies*, then, was the fifth anniversary of the enactment of the *lex Pompeia Licinia*, whatever that

may have been. It was probably March 1 or later—Pompey felt that he could not in fairness take any strong stand in the matter before that date—and it was surely before November 13, else no compromise would have been involved in deferring Caesar's supersession until that date. It escaped notice when it came, because, under the prevailing circumstances, it had relatively little significance. Caesar would continue as governor of the Gauls until a successor could be appointed to succeed him, and his supporters at Rome made such skillful and persistent use of the machinery for obstruction in the Roman constitutional structure that motion toward this end was at a standstill. In the impasse which was reached neither party was willing to yield substantially, and the solution of the question was left to the arbitrament of war.

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¹ *Caesar: a Biography*, translated from the French by Emma Craufurd (New York, 1952) p. 314.

² "The Terminal Date of Caesar's Command," *AJP* 59 (1938) 169-208.

³ "The Legal Term of Caesar's Governorship in Gaul," *CQ* 26 (1932) 14-26.

⁴ "Das Ende von Caesars Gallischer Statthalter-schaft und der Ausbruch des Bürgerkrieges," *RhM* 68 (1913) 1-10.

⁵ "Die Rechtsfrage zwischen Caesar und dem Senat," *Historische Schriften*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1906) pp. 92-145.

⁶ *Suet. Caes.* 22. 1; *Plut. Caes.* 14. 6; *Dio* 38. 8. 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Prov. Cons.* 37.

⁹ *Dio* 39. 33. 3.

¹⁰ *Dio* 44. 43. 2.

¹¹ *Caes.* 24. 1.

¹² *Caes.* 21. 3.

¹³ *Appian* 2. 3. 18.

¹⁴ For a summary of the evidence from Cicero relating to this point, see E. G. Hardy, "Caesar's Legal Position in Gaul," *JPh* 34 (1918) 167-72.

¹⁵ G. R. Elton, "The Terminal Date of Caesar's Gallic Proconsulate," *JRS* 36 (1946) 20.

¹⁶ *Dio* 39. 33-36.

¹⁷ *Cic. Att.* 4. 13. 2.

¹⁸ *Dio* 39. 36. 2.

¹⁹ *Dio* 40. 56. 2.

²⁰ *Appian* 2. 4. 25.

²¹ *Dio* 40. 56. 1.

²² *Suet. Caes.* 28. 3; *Dio* 40. 56. 3.

²³ *Dio* 40. 56. 1.

²⁴ *Cic. Fam.* 8. 1. 2; *Appian* 2. 4. 26.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Cic. Fam.* 8. 2. 2.

²⁷ *Cic. Fam.* 8. 4. 4.

²⁸ *Cic. Fam.* 8. 5. 2.

²⁹ *B. C.* 1. 32.

³⁰ *Cic. Fam.* 8. 8. 5.

³¹ *Cic. Fam.* 8. 8. 9.

³² *Cic. Fam.* 8. 11. 3.

³³ (Above, note 14) pp. 208-13.

³⁴ *Att.* 7. 9. 4.

³⁵ Cf. Adcock (above, note 3) p. 17.

THE FORUM

editor MARGARET M. FORBES

DE DUOBUS LIBELLIS

A talk given at the 1960 meeting of CAMWS in Athens, Georgia:

EVERYBODY HAS something which he likes to display when an opening occurs. Some people pull out their children's pictures; others turn out the lights and show scenes from their travels. I have no children and no travel slides, but I do have a little booklet of paraphrases from the Latin poets, which I wish to share with you, in spite of the fact that some of you will consider my handling of the Latin authors brutal.

Dr. Garrett Thiessen was my collaborator on these verses. That statement is not startling until I say that Dr. Thiessen is the head of our Chemistry Department. He is the kind of person who is awarded a medal by the Manufacturing Chemists' Association, and who (after his regular undergraduate courses) teaches government-sponsored night courses in radioactivity. He is a most unlikely person to be walking around quoting Ovid and Seneca. His hobby, however, is Latin. He can recite in the original every line paraphrased in this booklet, and he can repeat (without notes) any one of Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome" which you care to hear. He is, not surprisingly, an ardent and active proponent of my department. Students (and administrators) who pay no attention to my pleas for the Classics listen to him because he is the most highly respected man of science on our campus. It is amazing what a scientist's endorsement can do for the prestige of such an uncommercial subject as Latin.

Our little book came into existence quite by accident. Early in 1958 an announcement was made that a small amount of money was available to our faculty for research projects. Dr. Thiessen, who always keeps the Classics Department in mind, immediately suggested that I ask for some of this money to put into booklet form some verse translations of the Latin poets, to be made by my students. The answer to my request was a grant for such a booklet, but with the stipulation that this money was for faculty use — the paraphrases were to be made only by Dr. Thiessen and me. That had not been our plan. But it is a matter

of principle with me never to turn down a chance to "do something" for or with classical literature; and it is an equally strong principle with Dr. Thiessen never to allow available money to lie around unused.

We each had a few somewhat unpolished paraphrases on hand. He had used his in the teaching of a Sunday school class, and I had made mine just for fun when I happened to be teaching a course in Horace or Martial. We licked into shape some of our favorites and had a hundred copies printed — under the unimaginative title of *Poems from the Latin*.

I am not an optimist, and I was convinced that we would be lucky if we disposed of twenty-five copies by twisting the arms of our closest friends to accept them. Much to my surprise, the entire hundred copies were gone within two weeks. One of the most gratifying sights in my experience was the day I put some copies in the faculty lounge; and I saw the dean, the head of the History Department, and an education professor all reading their copies at the same time. It was like the ad that says: "In Philadelphia nearly everybody reads the Bulletin." After such amazing success, we had another hundred and fifty copies printed, and these too have dwindled to exactly two copies, which we do not want to part with.

Two considerations determined the nature of the poems in this publication. We had made paraphrases of the poems which we had especially enjoyed. Thus many of them are amusing rather than significant, like the Martial epigram which might be applicable here:

Why do you wear on your neck a scarf
When for speaking you appear?
That protective covering would have more
use
If it covered your listener's ear.

Also, when we realized that we were "breaking into print," our aim was to appeal to an audience without a classical background. We hoped to prove to both college administrators and potential Latin students that reading Latin was not just learn-

ing that all Gaul was divided into three parts; it consisted of much that was entertaining and contemporary in application. Footnotes to explain references to the uninitiated would have completely destroyed the effect desired. Therefore we avoided topical allusions, and in some places I drastically modernized the situation. My aim was to say in modern terms what the Latin poets had said. The originals, of course, lose something rather valuable in this kind of adaptation, and this loss is what a classical scholar will deplore. But remember that this book was not designed to delight the classicist, a member of a very small minority group even on college and university campuses. Instead, its appeal was directed toward the larger audience of people whose knowledge did not include the works of Horace and Juvenal. In fact, in too many instances, it did not even include their names. Thus, in my version of Horace's satire on the bore, the reference to Maecenas is changed to a modern political term, and a required appearance at a Roman court proceeding, which has no equivalent in America, 1960, becomes an illegally parked car. Here is the poem (*Satires* 1.9):

As I was strolling down the street,
Enjoying life, I chanced to meet
A man whom I could call by name.
That's all the acquaintance we could claim.
Like a long-lost pal he grabbed my hand,
Inquiring, "How are you doing?" and
To be polite I said, "Not too
Bad, and I hope the same is true
With you." I walked on; so did he.
I asked, "Did you wish to see me?"
"Only to talk, since you and I
Are both great talkers." His look was sly.
"That's good," I stupidly replied,
And then I desperately tried
To get away. I would walk fast,
Then stop at store windows we passed.
He did the same, and all the time
He kept on talking, without rhyme
Or reason — about the weather,
The new fall styles, the cost of leather
Goods. I cursed my plight,
And wished I weren't so darned polite.
"Where are you going?" he inquired.
"To see a friend," I answered, tired
Of being kind. "He's very ill
With a bad virus that's sure to kill."
Finally, my desire to be
Rid of him he had to see.
Then he remarked, "You'd like me to
Be gone and cut out pestering you.
But I am going along to see
Your friend with you — you can't shake
me!"

"Don't you have mother, children, wife?"
I asked. "You should not risk your life."
"Nope," he replied, "I've buried all
My family." Lucky I would call
Them. Now there's only me
For him to talk to death. 'Twas he
The fortune teller must have meant
When she said physical ailment
Would not bring me to my last breath —
Some chatterbox would be my death.
And now he got around to talk
Of why he really joined my walk.
"I hear that you and Mayor Brown
Are very close. He runs the town,
And you run him. I'm sure that he
Would find it helpful to meet me.
I know some places he could get
Some good kick-backs if he would let
Me work for him." I angry cried,
"I don't advise him, and besides,
He would not enter a dishonest deal."
"That," he said blandly, "makes me feel
That more than ever I'd like to know
So good a man. I'd love him. So
Introduce me, and I'll say
A good word for you every day."
"You don't need introductions," I
Replied; "your gall will get you by."
Just then I saw my closest friend
And thought my troubles now would end.
I called him, and with nods and signs
So he could not miss my designs,
I said, "I had almost forgot
We wished to talk about a lot
Of private matters right away."
He laughed and said, "Some other day
Will do. I see you're busy now."
I'll get even with him some day, somehow!
I'd given up hope, when all at once
A policeman tapped my leech — the dunce
In his pursuit of me had parked
His car by a hydrant. He embarked
To move it, begging me to wait.
But I sneaked out, and escaped my fate.

When we were offered an opportunity to bring out a second booklet during the summer of 1959, we accepted — this time with less trepidation. This booklet (given an equally inspired title of *More Poems from the Latin*) differs somewhat from the first one. These paraphrases were written (like Pliny's letters) with an eye to publication; thus they are a little more carefully selected and polished than the previous ones. Also this collection is directed to a different audience from the one in our minds earlier. The anachronisms, therefore, are much less frequent. In fact, one reference to tranquilizer pills is the only phrase I can think of which would be incomprehensible to the Latin poets.

This is a booklet which I hope people like you will enjoy. I do not intend to read it to you. Some of you already have copies, and I have other free copies in the back of the room for any of you interested in reading it for yourselves. One poem was selected from it to be printed in the current anthology of poems written by teachers and librarians, put out by the National Poetry Association. It happens to be Catullus' most frequently paraphrased poem. Here is our version (Catullus 3):

Let every lovely thing bow down its head
In grief: the world lacks charm it had
before.

The sparrow of my dear one now is dead;
The darling of my darling is no more.

It loved her as a child would love its
mother.

It sat upon her finger trustingly,
And sang for her alone and for no other,
As she smiled down at it adoringly.

But now the voice is stilled. Never again
Will it sing out its notes of joy and mirth.
Oh, cruel selfish Death, with cold disdain
You crush all precious, lovely things to
earth.

Poor pretty sparrow, she whom you held
dear
Has mourned your vanished charm with
many a tear.

We are now working on a third issue in this series. I don't know what we can call this one, since it would hardly sound right to name it *Most Poems from the Latin*. But anyhow, here is a sneak preview of the material to go into it—Martial's "Issa," with my own chiluahua's name substituted (*Epigrams* 1. 109):

Tico — more beguiling than the sparrow
of Catullus:

Tico — with a kiss to warm the heart of
any girl;

Tico — more appealing than a curly-headed
youngster;

Tico — much more precious than a diamond
or a pearl.

There is nothing more enchanting than my
little pet dog, Tico.

That he knows and shares my sadness when
my world seems dark and lonely

And his heart is filled with joy when I
am gay.

He has added so much pleasure to the
routine of my living

That I cannot bear the haunting thought
that death

Will erase his personality with quick
annihilation,

His existence to be lost with his last
breath.

So I had a picture painted — such a likeness
of my pet!

Put the painting by the dog and you will
feel

That the picture is so lifelike that it has
to be alive,

And the dog himself too charming to be
real.

During this meeting you are being served various dishes of classical meat to chew and digest — some of it very well seasoned. What I have offered you is more in the form of an after-dinner mint — inappropriately handed to you in the middle of the morning! It didn't give you much mental nourishment, but I hope that you found it a bit refreshing.

BERNICE L. FOX

Monmouth College

EIGHTH GRADE CLASSICS

WHEN two eighth-grade pupils handed in assignments with their names written in Greek letters, I was sure that at last one objective of an extracurricular activity in our class had been achieved, namely, to arouse interest in the Classics.

The project started two years ago when I was assigned to St. Gregory the Great School in Bellerose in suburban New York. In the class were several gifted children, and it was to these especially that I addressed an invitation to a proposed early morning Latin class. The response of the students was unexpectedly enthusiastic. Out of last year's enrollment of 59 pupils, boys and girls, 20 started out in October; of 51 boys the previous year, 12 signed up for it. Last year, by the end of May, 14 had survived; the previous year, four. The high mortality I attribute not only to my own pedagogical deficiencies, which I acknowledge, but also to be relatively high speed which I purposely maintained for the sake of the very high I.Q.'s, for whom the class was originally planned. The students were asked to obtain a text, namely, *Latin by the Natural Method, Book I*, by Reverend William G. Most, and this we used consistently through the year. In general, my method was to introduce new words with as much reference to English derivatives as their English vocabularies allowed, to read

the story in Latin, sometimes several times, and then to translate. To vary the procedure we sometimes went to the board to diagram sentences in Latin; at other times we translated parts of the story from English to Latin; again, we gave syntax of familiar English constructions and the few new Latin usages which we had met; finally, we had an occasional test which included six or seven lines of translation prepared in class, sight translation of several Latin sentences and, lastly, several English-to-Latin sentences. On one occasion I had inserted after the final English-to-Latin sentence the question, "Why do you come to Latin class so faithfully?" and found one fellow struggling to translate that into Latin. Incidentally, the responses to that question varied from the most frequent "because I think it will help me in high school" to the more realistic "because my Dad would kill me if I didn't!" One joker honestly stated, "I don't!"

How much time did we give to the class? Surely not as much as both teacher and pupils would have liked. However, giving priority to "first things," we managed to have a twenty minute class three or four mornings a week.

Were the objectives achieved? In part, yes. Certainly some students became interested in the Classics. During lunch period on rainy days groups were found playing word games in Latin or "Greek." More evidence of interest appeared in English compositions where "Favorite Characters in Literature" occasionally turned out to be Greek or Roman mythological characters. The class obviously became acquainted with Latin pronunciation. But the establishment of a small vocabulary was the result which in retrospect seems to have been most helpful to the students who have now had some high-school experience. The students did acquire some facility in translating Latin to English and English to Latin, as well as in recognizing familiar English grammar and a few Latin constructions. As far as the text is concerned, during this past year the translation exercises in the first 21 lessons were thoroughly covered. We did not learn everything presented on those pages, for example, all the forms of *ille*, since this was not our intention. However, we did do justice to the stories, all the way from *Marie Habuit Parvum Agnum* to *Tiberius Gracchus et Pauperes*.

My interest in this is the interest of a potential Latin teacher who is determined to contribute whatever is in her power, not only to the survival of the classical-

languages program through this Modern Language Lab Age, but also to its expansion through honors programs offering four year of Latin and at least two of Greek, to those who can take it.

SISTER MARY ROBERTELLE, B.V.M.

St. Gregory the Great School
Bellerose, N.Y.

AN INDIANA EXPERIMENT

AN EXPERIMENTAL SEMINAR was offered among the courses given at the Indiana University Latin Workshop held from June 18 to July 8, 1960. The seminar was designed to serve a specific practical purpose while focusing attention upon a general problem that should be of great concern to all American educators.

Its immediate aim was an intensive review of the fundamentals of Latin grammar. The increased interest in Latin that is now apparent everywhere in the country has led to a sudden great demand for Latin teachers. Many of them have been recruited from the ranks of those who had specialized in Latin during their college careers but who had later been obliged to give it up in order to teach more popular subjects. Teachers in this position believed that their work in the reviving Latin programs would be aided by detailed study of basic points in Latin grammar.

By a strange irony the challenge posed by the educational achievements of the Soviet Union has been one of the chief reasons for the return of the "hard" disciplines, of which Latin is a prime example, to their rightful place in the American high-school curriculum. This seminar was thus designed to give a representative group of American high-school teachers an opportunity to familiarize themselves at first hand with one aspect of the Soviet educational process.

To achieve this double purpose, those participating in the group, which constituted one section of the Workshop, used a special textbook, *Latinskii Iazyk (The Latin Language)*,¹ to make an intensive study of Latin grammar. This is the text from which Latin is currently taught at a number of Soviet institutions of higher learning. The time available was insufficient for the participants to complete all the lessons in the book, but, under the guidance of the instructor, who attempted to reproduce as closely as possible the conditions in which the text is actually used in the Soviet Union, they carefully considered such problems, among others, as

anomalies of the third declension, the ablative absolute, the accusative and infinitive, Roman numerals, and *ut* and *cum* clauses of every variety. The comprehensive exercises that accompany each grammar section provided them with ample practice in the use of all these constructions.

The members of the group generally agreed that the experiment successfully accomplished its primary purpose of imparting a thorough review of grammar fundamentals. In the process the text also made the group keenly aware of many Soviet educational methods and practices. Perhaps the comments made by the teachers themselves at the conclusion of the course will best illustrate the impression that the text created.

Some valid criticism was directed against the poor quality of the paper and type used, although in this connection it should be remembered that the book can be purchased in the Soviet Union for approximately 68 cents. A more frequent criticism involved the book's total lack of pictures of "Roman Life," which experienced teachers apparently feel are essential in order to hold the interest of Latin students. However, the overwhelming consensus of opinion was favorable. The teachers were impressed by the uncompromising demand for academic achievement of quality from students, that the use of such a text implies; indeed, some of their comments might even be said to be slightly tinged with alarm for the future if America continues to heed the siren-song of the apostles of educational complacency.

One teacher wrote, "The average American high-school student has neither the background, mental maturity, nor the intestinal fortitude to grapple with a book of this caliber," and supplemented these remarks with the statement, "This is a 'teacher's textbook,' and though admirable in many ways it could only be used by exceptional students." Another teacher had much the same impression: "... in high schools where classes are divided according to intellectual ability or academic needs, the better classes would profit immeasurably from this type of textbook." Perhaps we may best conclude by quoting the striking observation made by one able participant in the seminar, who wrote, "Comparison of this book to that which I have been using leaves me with a feeling comparable, if I may be permitted a crude simile, of dropping in for a snack at a drive-in and then dining at Antoine's."

HUGH F. GRAHAM

University of New Mexico

THE ART OF TRANSLATION

The following paragraphs are excerpted from a paper sent in by James Morgan, Principal of the Chicago Latin School. It was written by a student there:

TRANSLATION from Latin to English, ever since Latin became a *lingua mortua*, has been regarded as a task to be entrusted to hoary Latin scholars with flowing beards and thick glasses, or as a torturous course designed for the punishment of the young elite who go to boarding or private schools.

A Latin passage is like a piece of music. The music may be played a little faster or a little slower than its key signature designates; and so the Latin passage may be translated a little more or less freely than its contents suggest. But there are limits for both, which should be observed with punctilio. A translation may be spoiled if the translator's imagination gets the better of him. True, a little imagination will make the passage more vivid, but the prevailing limitations of the passage's exact meaning and diction will, as the music's key signature, give the translator his boundaries.

Word order is important as a guide to translation. With this is linked the agreement of certain elements of the sentence. It is quite easy to become hopelessly lost if one does not follow the street signs of sentence structure.

Besides sentence structure there are other signs which facilitate translation, such as English cognates and Latin and English idioms, and differences due to social, scientific and religious factors. To understand a passage and its undercurrent of thought is naturally a prerequisite to translating it well.

An implication of viewing a passage from the Latin point of view is the fact that it is, at times, better to translate the idea of the sentence or phrase rather than translating it verbatim.

Of course translation and ideas on translation differ and vary with the times. I will now present some translations of passages from Caesar as done by a famous literary authority of former times and then give my own independent translation of the same passage (*De Bello Gallico* 6. 21, 22).

Here is a translation of this passage by the noted literary figure H. J. Edwards quoted from the *Roman Reader*:

"The Germans have no Druids to regulate divine worship, no zeal for sacrifices. They reckon among the gods those only whom

¹ See the review of this work in *CJ* 55 (1960) 236-39.

they see and by whose offices they are openly assisted—to wit, the Sun, the Fire-God, and the Moon; of the rest they have learnt not even by report. Their whole life is composed of hunting expeditions and military pursuits; from early boyhood they are zealous for toil and hardship.

"For agriculture they have no zeal, and the greater part of their food consists of milk, cheese, and flesh. No man has a definite quantity of land or estates of his own; the magistrates and chiefs every year assign to tribes and clans, that have assembled together, as much land and in such place as seems good to them, and compel the tenants after a year to pass on elsewhere."

Here is my independently translated rendition of the same passage:

"The Germans neither have Druids to preside over religious rites nor do they attach much importance to sacrifices. They regard as gods only those whom they see and by whose resources they are manifestly helped: the Sun, Vulcan the Fire-god, and the Moon; they have not even heard of the rest in legends. Their whole life is spent in hunting parties and in the studies of military sciences; from childhood, they are much given to labor and hardship.

"They are not given to agriculture, and the majority of them center their diet around milk, cheese, and meat. No one has a fixed amount of fields or his own land; for each year the magistrates and leading citizens assign to the 'gentes' and groups of kinsmen as many fields and in whatever locations as seem best for themselves. The following year they force these villeins to move elsewhere."

Thus you have the contrast in these two translations which comes about as a result of different periods of translations and thus different outlooks on the Latin language as a whole and specifically its translation. This difference is, of course, noticeable in the diction and a little bit in the interpretation of the contents of the passage. However, the resemblance otherwise is so strong that it just goes to show that a language as firmly established as Latin, due to the fact that it is no longer spoken except in classrooms, is changeless throughout the centuries; and one hundred years

from now, Caesar's commentaries will still be popularly read in their native tongue, if enough people take the time to respect and appreciate the one heritage that time, tide and the elements cannot destroy, unless we allow them to do it.

LAWRENCE DeVoe

Chicago Latin School

NATIONAL STATISTICS: LATIN

These statistics for the current year are from a reliable source, which can not be identified because of publication rights.

LATIN, the second most popular foreign language, attracts about 8 percent (circa 650,000) of the boys and girls in our public high schools. It has more enrollments than either Spanish or French in 17 states: Pennsylvania (13.7 percent), Ohio (11.8), Virginia (11.1), Indiana (10.4), Michigan and Tennessee (8.0), West Virginia (6.5), Kentucky (6.1), Nebraska (5.6), Wisconsin (5.3), Minnesota (5.2), Hawaii (5.1), Iowa (4.9), the Dakotas (4.7), Mississippi (3.8) and Arkansas (3.1). In Indiana it has more enrollments than all the modern foreign languages combined (10.1), and in Nebraska it recently moved ahead of Spanish in popularity. The 1954-59 increase of interest in the modern foreign languages seems to have helped rather than hindered the position of Latin in secondary schools; enrollments have gone up during this period in at least 40 states. (They fell slightly in 5, and for 5 others 1954 figures are missing.) In 1949 Latin attracted only 7.8 percent of the total public high school population; in 1954, 6.9 percent—as contrasted with the present 8 percent. Latin is strongest in New England, particularly Massachusetts (16.8 percent), Vermont (15.5) and Connecticut (14.2), but it is strong also in Pennsylvania (13.7, with 69,897 enrolled), Delaware (13.4), Ohio (11.8), New Jersey and Virginia (11.1). It is weakest in Utah (1.2), Louisiana (2.0), Arkansas (3.1), Alabama (3.3), Mississippi and Missouri (3.8). Its most striking gains during the period 1954-59 were made in Kansas (2.1 to 7.1), New Mexico (3.5 to 7.0), Florida (5.2 to 8.5), Tennessee (4.8 to 8.0) and Colorado (5.8 to 8.7)—mostly states where Spanish is the chief language studied.

FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH, INC.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, APRIL 6, 7, 8, 1961

HEADQUARTERS: HOTEL CARTER

at the invitation of: John Carroll University
in cooperation with: Western Reserve University
The Classical Club of Greater Cleveland
Cleveland Chapter of the
Archaeological Institute of America

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, APRIL 6

8:30 a.m. Registration, Lobby, Hotel Carter. To help defray convention expenses, a registration fee of \$1.00 will be asked of all except high-school students.

9:00 a.m. Meeting of the Executive Committee, Vice-President Suite.

All regular sessions will be held in the Oak Room.

9:30 a.m. First Session. KARL K. HULLEY, University of Colorado, presiding.

KEITH M. ALDRICH, University of Nebraska, "The Bridle of Corinth; Pindar's 13th Olympian."

JOHN P. ANTON, Ohio Wesleyan University, "Some Dionysian References in the Platonic Dialogues."

WILLIAM C. KORFMACHER, St. Louis University, "Solon of Athens in 1961."

JAMES A. HITT, University of Texas, "Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* Imitates What Action?"

Intermission, 10 minutes

THOMAS H. CORCORAN, Miami University, "Fish Treatises in the Early Roman Empire."

HARRY J. LEON, University of Texas, "A Mediaeval Nun's Diary."

CHAUNCEY E. FINCH, St. Louis University, "The Renaissance Adaptation of Aesop's Fables by Gregorius Corraius."

2:00 p.m. Second Session. W. ROBERT JONES, Ohio State University, presiding.

THEME: "Cicero, Vergil and Horace"

EDGAR C. REINKE, Valparaiso University, "Classical Cryptography."

ROBERT LIND, University of Kansas, "The *Eclogues* of Vergil: Introducing a New Verse Translation."

JEREMIAH REEDY, University of South Dakota, "Fate and Free Will in Vergil's *Aeneid*."

Intermission, 10 minutes

- ALEXANDER G. MCKAY, McMaster University, "Vergilian Promontories: Palinurus, Misenum, Caieta" (illustrated).
 D. HERBERT ABEL, Loyola University (Chicago), "Horace and Color Words,"
 NIAL R. RUDD, University College, Toronto, "Was There a Lucilian Prototype of Horace, Sat. I, 9?"

Meeting of the Southern Section immediately following this session, Oak Room.

7:30 p.m. Third Session. WILLIAM H. WILLIS, University of Mississippi, presiding.

KENNETH M. ABBOTT, Ohio State University, "The Search for the Text of an Ancient Best-seller: St. Jerome's *Vitae Patrum*."

ALFRED P. DORJAHN, Northwestern University, "Hippolytus' Life and Works."

SISTER M. BEDE DONELAN, College of St. Teresa, "The Legend of Margarona at Daphni."

Presidential Address: JOHN N. HOUGH, University of Colorado, "History and Literature."

Social Hour, at the invitation of John Carroll University, following the Presidential Address.

FRIDAY, APRIL 7

7:30 a.m. State Vice-Presidents' Breakfast, Frontier Room, Secretary-Treasurer PAUL R. MURPHY, presiding.

9:30 a.m. Fourth Session. GRAYDON REGENOS, Tulane University, presiding.

ROBERT C. HOERBER, Westminster College, "Dramatic Clues in Plato's *Meno*."

THEME: "Mycenae" (illustrated)

SARA A. IMMERWAHR, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, "History from Mycenaean Pottery."

EMMETT L. BENNETT, Institute for Research in the Humanities, University of Wisconsin, "The Cities of Agamemnon, Nestor and Idomeneus."

Intermission, 10 minutes

PAUL L. MACKENDRICK, University of Wisconsin, "Mycenae 'Rich in Gold.'"

2:00 p.m. Fifth Session. B. H. NARVESON, St. Olaf College, presiding.

STANLEY T. VANDERSALL, University of Nebraska, "The Additamenta in Aristophanes' *Wasps*."

HENRY R. IMMERWAHR, University of North Carolina, "Greek Vase Inscriptions and Literature."

ROSEMARY HOPE, Walnut Hills High School, Cincinnati, "High School Latin in the Sixties: Some Problems."

DISCUSSION: "Programs in the Classics for Superior High School Students."

Moderator, GERALD F. ELSE, The University of Michigan.

Panel:

FRANK O. COPLEY, The University of Michigan, "What Are the High Schools Doing for the Superior Student?"

RICHARD T. SCANLAN, Edina-Morningside High School, Edina, Minnesota, "Advanced Placement: Enrichment and Acceleration in the Latin Program."

ROBERT B. WOOLSEY, The Taft School, Watertown, Connecticut, "A Classical Language Program for High Schools."

JOAN M. MADSEN, Oak Park and River Forest High School, Oak Park, Illinois, "A Critique of Programs for the Superior Student."

7:00 p.m. Annual Subscription Banquet, Ballroom (\$4.75, including tax and gratuity. Formal dress optional). President JOHN N. HOUGH, University of Colorado, presiding.

Greetings: JOHN S. MILLIS, President, Western Reserve University.

REV. EDWARD S. MCCUE, S.J., Dean of the Graduate School, John Carroll University.

Response: ELLEN MACHIN, Central College, First Vice-President of CAMWS.

Ovationes: WILLIAM C. KORFMACHER, St. Louis University.

The Association and Guests will retire to the Lorenzo Carter Room where will be presented:

"A Marionette Performance of the *Birds* of Aristophanes" by PETER D. ARNOTT, State University of Iowa.

SATURDAY, APRIL 8

- 9:00 a.m. Annual Business Meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Inc. JOHN N. HOUGH, President, presiding, Oak Room.
- 10:30 a.m. Sixth Session. WILLIAM M. SEAMAN, Michigan State University, presiding.
- LORIMER ROBEY, Hawken School, Cleveland, "Catching Rabbits Young: Latin in Grades Seven and Eight."
- CAROLYN ULSH, Eber Baker Junior High School, Marion, Ohio, "Breakthrough: A Program for the First Week of Latin I."
- LOUISE LINCOLN, Eastmoor High School, Columbus, Ohio, "Gods, Graves and Barbarians, or, Jupiter Pluvius Lends a Hand."
- BRUNO MEINECKE, The University of Michigan, Emeritus, "The First Golden Age of Medicine."

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HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS

Hotel Carter, Prospect and East 9th Streets, is the Headquarters of the meeting. The following flat rates have been made especially for the Association: single, \$7.00; double, \$9.00; twin beds, \$12.00.

Hotel Statler Hilton, East 12th and Euclid Avenue: single, \$6.50 to \$14.00; double, \$13.00 to \$15.00; twin beds, \$14.00 to \$21.00.

Manger Hotel, East 13th and Chester Avenue: single, \$6.00 to \$12.00; double, \$12.00 to \$16.00; twin beds, \$13.00 to \$24.00.

Hollenden Hotel, East 6th and Superior Avenue: single, \$5.50 to \$11.00; double, \$10.00 to \$18.00; twin beds, \$12.00 to \$24.00.

ACCOMMODATIONS FOR SISTERS, PRIESTS AND BROTHERS

Write to Rev. Charles J. Castellano, S.J., John Carroll University.

TRAVEL SERVICES

Cleveland is served by the New York Central, Pennsylvania, Nickel Plate, Baltimore & Ohio and Erie Railroads; by American, United, NW Orient, Capital, Eastern and TWA Airlines; and by bus service.

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TENNYSON'S EPICUREAN LOTOS-EATERS

MALCOLM MacLAREN

THE ADVENTURE of Odysseus and his men in the land of the Lotos-eaters is related in *Odyssey* 9. 82-104. For nine days the voyagers were driven over the sea by violent winds; on the tenth day they landed in the country of the Lotos-eaters. After a meal Odysseus sent some of his companions to find out who the natives were.¹ Receiving a friendly welcome from the inhabitants these explorers were offered some of the lotos to taste. Those who partook lost all desire to report their findings to Odysseus and to continue the voyage home. Odysseus, however, dragged these recalcitrants, weeping, into the ships, where he tied them up. He then ordered his men to embark quickly, for fear that others might eat of the lotos and then try to abandon their homeward journey.

Homer's narrative is bald and compressed. No description of the country is given. Except for their hospitality on this occasion nothing is said about the Lotos-eaters' characteristics, nor do we learn of any effects that lotos-eating may have had on them. We are not told how or where Odysseus made contact with the refractory exploring party. No blood is shed, no lives are lost. This is the tamest of the adventures of Odysseus, and one of the shortest. It is all over in twenty-three lines.

This episode is the basis of Tennyson's poem *The Lotos-Eaters*. The

poem begins with a narrative section describing, in five Spenserian stanzas, the arrival of the Greeks in Lotos-land, and it ends with a section entitled Choric Song, eight stanzas in length and irregular in meter. In the Choric Song, sung by those who had eaten of the lotos, the voyagers describe the charms of Lotos-land, and they express their determination never to depart. Despite its division into two parts the poem is a unit; the Choric Song could not exist independently.

In expanding Homer's twenty-three lines into a poem nearly eight times as long, Tennyson has made some noteworthy additions. To begin with, he has created a mood and a landscape. The mood is one of utter languor. The lush landscape, described in considerable detail, is clearly intended to provide a background of natural beauty that shall be in harmony with the dreamy inertia of the Lotos-eaters' life. Tennyson has sought, successfully I believe, to achieve an exquisite blending of sound with sense. This quality of the poem is well illustrated by its first stanza, which goes as follows:

"Courage!" he said, and pointed toward the land,

"This mounting wave will roll us shoreward soon."

In the afternoon they came unto a land
In which it seemed always afternoon.

All round the coast the languid air did swoon,

Breathing like one that hath a weary dream.

Full-faced above the valley stood the moon;
And, like a downward smoke, the slender
stream
Along the cliff to fall and pause and fall
did seem.

After some further description of the country; the Lotos-eaters appear and offer the lotos to the Greeks. The sailors who eat of it declare that they will never return home. Then they begin to sing the Choric Song. Its first stanza is as follows:

There is sweet music here that softer falls
Than petals from blown roses on the grass,
Or night-dews on still waters between walls
Of shadowy granite, in a gleaming pass;
Music that gentlier on the spirit lies,
Than tir'd eyelids upon tir'd eyes;
Music that brings sweet sleep down from
the blissful skies.
Here are cool mosses deep,
And thro' the moss the ivies creep,
And in the stream the long-leaved flowers
weep,
And from the craggy ledge the poppy hangs
in sleep.

In the last four lines of this stanza the poet has used a simple but most striking device to produce an impression of drowsiness. These lines are, respectively, six, eight, ten and twelve syllables in length. This arithmetical augmentation suggests a regularly prolonged, progressively deepening respiration of one who is just on the point of dropping off to sleep.

The Choric Song continues for seven more stanzas, in which the mariners describe further the delights of the land, and argue in defense of their decision to remain.

The aesthetic qualities of *The Lotos-Eaters*, admirable though they are, do not by any means tell the whole tale of the poem's significance or of the poet's creative work. But before this topic can be pursued, a few facts must be given about the history of the poem. Tennyson first published it in a volume which appeared in December, 1832, although the date shown on the

title page is 1833. This volume met with much critical disapprobation. One particularly devastating review was written by John W. Croker in the influential *Quarterly Review* 49 (April, 1833) 81-96.² Croker criticized, not without reason, a number of weaknesses and infelicities in Tennyson's poems, but the greater part of the review was a sarcastic and malicious attack on the poetry and the poet, going far beyond the limits of responsible criticism and giving an altogether false impression of the contents of Tennyson's book. Tennyson, always extremely sensitive to criticism, allowed ten years to pass before venturing to publish another collection of his poems. Reluctance to expose himself to possible critical onslaught was an important factor in his refusal to publish anything more than a very few single poems in journals during the years 1832-1842, a period often termed the "Ten Years' Silence."³ Eventually in 1842 Tennyson brought out a collection of his poetry in two volumes. The 1842 volumes contained a good many new poems, as well as a number that had been previously published, now reappearing with more or less extensive revisions.⁴ A revised form of *The Lotos-Eaters* was included in the 1842 publication. This, the definitive version of the poem, differs from the 1832 version in the following respects. A few minor changes were made, involving a word, a phrase, or a line at most. A new sixth stanza was inserted into the Choric Song, a change which contributes substantially to the poem's structural pattern. A new and much more significant final stanza was written for the Choric Song, replacing the original trivial conclusion, which Croker had criticized.⁵ In the revised ending Tennyson has attempted to describe the mariners' new life in Lotos-

land as though it were an ideal Epicurean life as depicted by Lucretius,⁶ particularly in the account Lucretius gives of the life of the gods.⁷ Thus Tennyson has transformed Homer's lotos-eating sailors into Epicureans.

There is, of course, nothing new in the observation that Epicurean influences are to be found in the last stanza of the Choric Song. James Spedding pointed this out when he reviewed Tennyson's 1842 volumes in the *Edinburgh Review* 77 (April, 1843) 373-91, remarking, "The gods of the Lotos-eaters . . . are altogether Lucretian." But some writers on the poem have ignored its Epicurean elements, and since this seems to have contributed to a misunderstanding of the poem's meaning, it is worthwhile to give the topic some attention; furthermore, we can find Epicurean influence in other parts of the poem than the last stanza, a fact which apparently has not been observed before.

The Epicurean conclusion of the Choric Song is as follows:

Let us swear an oath, and keep it with
an equal mind,
In the hollow Lotos-land to live and lie
reclined
On the hills like gods together, careless
of mankind.
For they lie beside their nectar, and the
bolts are hurl'd
Far below them in the valleys, and the
clouds are lightly curl'd
Round their golden houses, girdled with
the gleaming world;
Where they smile in secret, looking over
wasted lands,
Blight and famine, plague and earthquake,
roaring deeps and fiery sands,
Clanging fights, and flaming towns, and
sinking ships, and praying hands.
But they smile, they find a music centred
in a doleful song
Steaming up, a lamentation and an ancient
tale of wrong,
Like a tale of little meaning tho' the words
are strong;
Chanted from an ill-used race of men that
cleave the soil,

Sow the seed, and reap the harvest with
enduring toil,
Storing yearly little dues of wheat, and
wine and oil;
Till they perish and they suffer—some 'tis
whisper'd—down in hell
Suffer endless anguish, others in Elysian
valleys dwell,
Resting weary limbs at last on beds of
asphodel.
Surely, surely, slumber is more sweet than
toil, the shore
Than labor in the deep mid-ocean, wind
and wave and oar;
O, rest ye, brother mariners, we will not
wander more.

With these words the poem ends.

Spedding's description of the gods as "altogether Lucretian" needs some qualification, for Lucretius nowhere depicts the gods as smiling while they contemplate humanity's afflictions. One of the afflictions, incidentally, may be seen in the suggestion of a belief in life after death with the possibility of eternal punishment, a doctrine altogether heretical to an Epicurean and ruinous to Epicurean peace of mind (cf. Choric Song 123-25). Tennyson does not make it entirely clear in this passage whether or not the sailors themselves hold this un-Epicurean belief. W. P. Mustard⁸ finds the gods in *The Lotos-Eaters* not only "careless of mankind" but also "malicious," and Lionel Stevenson⁹ characterizes these gods as "actually cruel, and not, as Lucretius held them, merely indifferent." Tennyson does seem to have extended the Lucretian account of the gods, but the extension does not appear extremely farfetched.¹⁰ Moreover, this view of the gods may possibly have been based on Lucretius' picture of the Epicurean man (2.1-16), who can watch in complacent aloofness while sailors are tossed by storms at sea, and armies are engaged in combat on shore (compare Tennyson's "clanging fights and sinking ships," Choric Song 116).¹¹

In describing the gods as unresponsive

to human prayers Tennyson has not, I believe, misrepresented Lucretius. Misrepresentation might seem to have occurred, if one could agree with G. D. Hadzsits¹² in supposing that worship and prayer were part of Lucretius' system, but the arguments of Hadzsits are not convincing. It is true, as Bailey points out,¹³ that Lucretius in 6.75-78 suggests a sort of "communion with the gods by means of the *simulacra* which come from their bodies," a communion beneficial to man, if it prevents him from forming false notions of the gods which could disrupt his peace of mind. But there is no implication that the gods take any interest in such communion. We cannot know what additions Lucretius might have made to his scattered and incomplete descriptions of the divine nature, if he had fulfilled his promise, expressed in 5.155, to give a fuller account of the gods. Epicurus evidently allowed and practised sacrifice and prayer of a sort, as John Masson,¹⁴ N. W. DeWitt,¹⁵ and A. M. J. Festugière¹⁶ demonstrate, and Masson tries to explain, not very cogently, how an Epicurean might expect his prayers to be answered. There is, however, no indication in our (and Tennyson's) *De Rerum Natura* that Lucretius followed Epicurus' thinking on the subject of prayer, unless one should be willing to regard the controversial invocation to Venus as a genuine prayer expecting an answer, outweighing in its significance the statements Lucretius makes elsewhere about the gods (especially in 2.646-51).

It has not, I believe, been previously noticed that Epicureanism is to be found earlier in the poem than in the new final stanza. The fourth stanza of the Choric Song in both the 1832 and the 1842 versions of the poem is as follows:

Hateful is the dark-blue sky

Vaulted o'er the dark-blue sea.
Death is the end of life; ah, why
Should life all labor be?
Let us alone. Time driveth onward fast,
And in a little while our lips are dumb.
Let us alone. What is it that will last?
All things are taken from us, and become
Portions and parcels of the dreadful past.
Let us alone. What pleasure can we have
To war with evil? Is there any peace
In ever climbing up the climbing wave?
All things have rest, and ripen toward the
grave
In silence—ripen, fall, and cease:
Give us long rest or death, dark death, or
dreamful ease.¹⁷

Nothing could be more characteristically Epicurean than the mariners' question, "What pleasure can we have/To war with evil?" (Choric Song 48-49). Convinced that they would become involved in struggles with evil if they should depart and seek to re-enter their familiar world, the sailors reject this course of action because it would give them no pleasure. In applying the criterion of pleasure¹⁸ to the issues confronting them, they are acting on typically Epicurean principles. Again, in Choric Song 23 where the mariners sing, "There is no joy but calm," they are speaking the language of the Epicureans and are regarding pleasure as quiet repose, a view of pleasure which is reflected in the *De Rerum Natura*; cf. *vivere parce/aequo animo* (5.1118-19) and *pacata . . . omnia mente tueri* (5.1203). Also, in the sixth stanza of the Choric Song the sailors emphasize the significance of pleasure when they suggest, perhaps rather speciously, that their return would not bring joy to their wives and children, presumably reconciled by now to the long separation. They sing as follows:

Dear is the memory of our wedded lives,
And dear the last embraces of our wives
And their warm tears; but all hath suffer'd
change;
For surely now our household hearths are
cold,
Our sons inherit us, our looks are strange,

And we should come like ghosts to trouble joy.

W. P. Mustard's *Classical Echoes in Tennyson* is principally a collection of parallel passages. The main part of Mustard's work is followed by three appendices designated as: Classicisms in Word or Phrase, Commonplaces or Proverbial Expressions, Accidental Parallels or Coincidences. Three passages from *The Lotos-Eaters* not mentioned by Mustard seem to deserve citation, at least as "accidental parallels"; and it may well be that the resemblances are more than accidental. These three passages with the relevant passages from Lucretius are as follows: (1) "A land where all things always seem'd the same" (24) and *eadem sunt omnia semper* (Lucr. 3. 945); (2) "To watch the crisping ripples on the beach/ And tender curving lines of creamy spray" (Choric Song 61-62) and *qua mollibus undis/ litoris incurvi bibulam pavit aequor harenam* (Lucr. 2. 375-76); (3) "But all hath suffer'd change" (Choric Song 71) and *omnia migrant/ omnia commutat natura* (Lucr. 5. 830-31).¹⁹

It is now time to consider the meaning of *The Lotos-Eaters*. Critics express differing estimates of Tennyson's intentions in writing the poem. We should realize that the poet was undergoing a conflict in his mind, as is shown by his letters to Arthur Hallam in the years 1832-1833.²⁰ He felt, on the one hand, a strong desire to withdraw into a private world of creative imagination and to devote himself to the pursuit of beauty for its own sake. But he was beginning to wonder whether a poet could be justified in living such a life of aesthetic exclusiveness. He feared that he might be losing his power of human sympathy, and he was coming to believe that his poetry ought to be concerned with the

problems of ordinary humanity. This conflict is reflected in a number of the poems published in 1832. *The Hesperides* represents its protagonists as watching over golden fruit, which seems to be the symbol of some treasure, some personal possession, which must be guarded from the everyday world.²¹ This poem apparently voices a plea for the artist's isolation from common concerns. Quite the opposite point of view becomes manifest in *The Palace of Art*. In this poem Tennyson imagines a soul dwelling in a beautiful palace, absorbed in the contemplation of philosophy, letters, the arts and science. But after three years of isolation from ordinary human life the soul suffers a breakdown. Overcome by despair, loneliness and wild visions, the soul flees from the palace and seeks a humble home in which to mourn and pray. Finally, the soul expresses a hope that after a period of expiation she may return to the palace, bringing others with her. In this work Tennyson seems to disavow the life of complete aesthetic detachment and to assert that the artist, while keeping faith with his aesthetic ideals, must relate his art to human concerns and must seek to share his insights with others; this apparently is implied by the palace's continued existence, and by the soul's hope for a return to the palace in the company of others. These two poems, in addition to others in the 1832 collection, express the two sides of the conflict in the poet's mind. In the 1842 volumes Tennyson speaks with increased emphasis on the side of artistic involvement and concern.²² One indication of this is found in Tennyson's suppression of *The Hesperides*, which did not reappear in 1842. Where, in this conflict, does *The Lotos-Eaters* stand? Although the poem is not overt-

ly didactic, I believe that Tennyson did intend it to express his views as to the poet's calling.

Some recent critics believe that *The Lotos-Eaters*, like *The Hesperides*, is a defense of the life of the detached, self-sufficient artist; these critics suppose that Tennyson means to commend the decision of the mariners to abandon the outside world. For instance, E. D. H. Johnson²³ regards *The Lotos-Eaters* as a poem in which Tennyson "persuasively . . . could present the ideal of individual self-fulfillment," and Johnson sees *The Palace of Art* as suggesting "a revision of the creed exemplified in . . . *The Lotos-Eaters*." Johnson, by the way, feels that Tennyson's condemnation of artistic isolation in *The Palace of Art* "is conducted in such equivocal terms as to leave some doubt about the poet's perfect good faith," a feeling which I do not share. Also, Charles Tennyson²⁴ remarks, "*The Lotos-Eaters* echoes the longing of the imaginative spirit to retire from the conflicts of life," and he holds that the poem represents "the poet's revulsion against the mood which prompted the conclusion of *The Palace of Art*."

Tennyson, it is true, nowhere in the poem explicitly praises or blames the sailors for choosing to remain in Lotos-land, and he describes the allurements of the land in most seductive terms. Douglas Bush²⁵ discerningly realizes that Tennyson "felt a real tug of war" (i.e., between the rival claims of social responsibility and of aesthetic detachment) as is shown by "the persuasive beauty with which he presented the drugged enchantments of irresponsibility," although Bush does not maintain that a defense of irresponsibility is, in the last analysis, the poem's message.

I cannot agree with Johnson and

Charles Tennyson in their supposition that *The Lotos-Eaters* is a plea for a poet's right to live in aesthetic isolation. In deliberately seeking to represent the sailors as Epicureans Tennyson, I think, has given a clue as to his intentions. If we can discover whether Tennyson's attitude toward Epicureanism was favorable or unfavorable, we shall be able to determine whether he viewed with favor or disfavor the action of his Epicurean sailors, and consequently whether he meant in *The Lotos-Eaters* to commend or to condemn the life of the withdrawn, self-centered artist. It so happens that in *The Vision of Sin*, published in 1842, Tennyson does give a specific indication of his feelings toward Epicureanism. This poem describes the moral decay of a man who, in the words of an introductory note written by Tennyson himself, had in his youth "given himself up to pleasure and Epicureanism."²⁶ By this statement and in this poem Tennyson makes clear his disapproval of the Epicurean philosophy, as he understands it.²⁷ More generally, Tennyson's own religious beliefs, embracing such doctrines as Divine Providence and the immortality of the soul²⁸ would tend to make him regard Epicureanism with disapproval. These considerations lead us to understand *The Lotos-Eaters*, like *The Palace of Art*, as a disavowal of the creed of artistic isolation, and not, like *The Hesperides*, as a defense of this creed. We can hardly suppose that Tennyson would choose devotees of a philosophy which he rejected to be proponents of an aesthetic creed which he accepted. It seems significant that Johnson and Charles Tennyson, who take *The Lotos-Eaters* to be a defense of isolation, make no mention of the Epicureanism that is in the poem.

One further point may be made. Henry van Dyke and D. L. Chambers²⁹

see the new final stanza of the Choric Song as implying a "depth and breadth of . . . human sympathy" and a "feeling for the brotherhood of man" on the part of the poet. I agree with this assessment of the implications of this stanza, especially in lines 118-25. If, then, Tennyson is maintaining a sympathetic attitude toward troubled humanity, he surely is intending to pass an unfavorable judgment on the unsympathetic Epicurean gods and on the self-absorbed artistic isolation which they represent.

Critics in the nineteenth century were inclined to regard *The Lotos-Eaters* as primarily artistic rather than didactic, but to find in it an implied criticism of idleness and indifference. For example, Stopford Brooke³⁰ sees in the poem "a warning to the drifters and dreamers of our world." More recently Miss Green³¹ writes, "*The Lotos-Eaters* is . . . concerned with the forbidden evasion of reality. Those mariners who decide to remain . . . commit the same sin as the self-isolating soul in *The Palace of Art*, and their error . . . results: from a beauty divorced from the hazards and responsibilities of human life." These interpretations seem to be in accord with Tennyson's own apparent intentions,³² and they gain support from the extent and the significance of Lucretian influence in the poem.

Most critics have high praise for the poem's artistic qualities, but a few reservations have been expressed. Douglas Bush³³ wonders whether Tennyson has not refined the Homeric episode unduly when he takes Homer's "band of tough, hairy, brine-stained Greek mariners" and makes them "sit down on the shore and melodiously interweave the most delicate observations of nature with the most delicate analysis of modern ennui." The poem, according to Bush,

is a "non-serious treatment of a serious theme" and "an incomparably pretty account of spiritual degeneration." To my mind, Tennyson's refinement of Homer's account is a justifiably graphic illustration of the powerful effects of the lotos upon Odysseus' tough veterans. And it seems to me that Tennyson lifts the poem above the level of prettiness and redeems himself from any charge of lack of seriousness by his employment of Epicurean thought to define the position of the mariners, especially in the last stanza, which Bush considers "too elaborate for the occasion."

Paul F. Baum³⁴ considers *The Lotos-Eaters* to be one of three "fine poems" in the 1832 volume, but he finds the Choric Song "uneven . . . imperfectly sustained" and containing in the new final stanza "a palpably false note: 'Let us swear an oath.'" Baum characterizes a great deal of Tennyson's description of nature as "external and pictorial, uninformed by the emotional meaning which raises description above the merely decorative," and as often "mellifluous rather than musical." For Baum "mellifluousness . . . is not a high form of art," and it may lead to "the confusion of real beauty with an easy substitute." Applying these criticisms to the whole second stanza of *The Lotos-Eaters* he writes, "the effect is rather of accumulated images for their own sake than of artistic composition. Yet this is only a step from the true mastery which Tennyson often commands." Baum's criticism of this stanza may be not without merit, although I should not say that we have here "an easy substitute" for genuine beauty. Elsewhere in the poem, I think, the imagery is saved from becoming mere superficial decoration by its imaginative and emotional depths and by its direct relevance to the theme.

The Choric Song has a structural aspect that deserves notice.³⁵ Stanzas 1, 3, 5 and 7, primarily descriptive, set forth the entrancing loveliness of the land. Stanzas 2, 4 and 6 are devoted, principally, to a number of arguments brought forward by the mariners in justification of their decision to remain. The final stanza dwells briefly on the pervasive influence of the lotos, and then describes the life of the gods which the mariners are resolved to make their own. The new sixth stanza, added in 1842, is important in maintaining this structural pattern with its alternation of motifs.

In regard to intellectual content, some critics consider that the poem has none. E. D. Cressman³⁶ states, "The poem has been rightly described as carrying the poet's tendency to aestheticism to an extreme point, as being picture and music, and nothing more." W. H. Auden,³⁷ criticizing Tennyson more generally, says of him, "he had the finest ear, perhaps, of any English poet; he was also undoubtedly the stupidest; there was little about melancholia that he didn't know; there was little else that he did."

Criticisms such as these fail to take into account Tennyson's accomplishment in drawing upon one of the major philosophies of the ancient world for his statement of the artistic creed which he rejects. The poem is not the work of a great creative intellect, but it has intellectual overtones which are by no means inconsiderable, and it demands intellectual equipment on the part of its readers for its full understanding.³⁸

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¹ According to line 90 (identical with 10, 102 and often bracketed) three men made up the exploring party, but the subsequent narrative implies that the group was more numerous.

² This review was formerly attributed to John G. Lockhart, the journal's editor, but Croker's authorship seems definitely established; cf. Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., "Tennyson and the Reviewers (1830-1842)," *PMLA* 58 (1943) 182, and the same writer's *Tennyson and the Reviewers* (Cambridge, 1952) p. 19.

³ Other factors which may have been contributing causes of the silence are: grief over Hallam's death, anxiety arising from troubles in the Tennyson family, the poet's own poor health, his desire for time in which to produce new poems in greater quantity, his belief that he had hastily published immature work.

⁴ The extent to which reviewers may have been responsible for these revisions, and more generally the extent to which critics, both friendly and hostile, affected Tennyson's poetic development has been the subject of controversy. Miss Joyce Green in "Tennyson's Development During the 'Ten Years' Silence' (1832-1842)," *PMLA* 66 (1951) 662-97 seeks to minimize the effects of criticism upon Tennyson's work. On the other hand Shannon (above, note 2) argues rather more convincingly that criticism had a considerable effect upon Tennyson. Shannon, however, does not consider that Tennyson, in taking cognizance of the criticisms and the promptings of reviewers and of friends, may justly be charged with sycophancy or with a reprehensible seeking after fame and fortune; for an expression of this extreme and hostile view cf. Hugh I.A. Fausset, *Tennyson* (London, 1929) pp. 96-106.

⁵ These revisions in *The Lotos-Eaters*, which improve the poem greatly, owe far more to Tennyson than to the critics. While the reviewers pointed out weaknesses, and while we may agree with Shannon that Tennyson took notice of critical censure, nevertheless the critics did little to suggest, except in a general way, the means by which improvement might be effected. The specific changes for the better are chiefly the product of Tennyson's own originality; cf. Miss Green (above, note 4) p. 681.

⁶ I find no evidence that Tennyson read the works of Epicurus preserved by Diogenes Laertius. Probably it was from Lucretius, supplemented, perhaps, by some modern writers on the history of philosophy (see below, note 26) that Tennyson got his conceptions of Epicureanism. Some indication of the scope of Tennyson's early reading in classical authors is given by a number of Greek and Latin quotations appearing in the *Poems by Two Brothers*, published in 1826, but dated 1827 (actually three Tennyson brothers contributed to the volume). One poem in this collection has the following introductory quotation, "Spes nunquam implenda." — LUCRETIUS (cf. *Poems by Two Brothers* [New York, 1893] p. 173). This has led some writers (cf. W. J. Rolfe, *The Poetic and Dramatic Works of Alfred Lord Tennyson* [Boston, 1898] p. xli and Thomas R. Lounsbury, *The Life and Times of Tennyson* [New Haven, 1915] pp. 47-48) to include Lucretius in their lists of classical authors read by the brothers in their youth. Unfortunately, the quotation *Spes nunquam implenda* does not come from Lucretius; it occurs in Lucan 7. 688. We must, therefore, now discard this bit of evidence for Tennyson's early knowledge of Lucretius, but it is reasonable to suppose, in view of Tennyson's later interest in Lucretius, that he read the *De Rerum Natura* in his younger days. Charles Tennyson (*Alfred Tennyson* [London, 1949] p. 31) states that Tennyson in his youth acquired from his father a good knowledge of the

standard Greek and Latin classics. Tennyson used to read Lucretius, among other authors, aloud to his wife, as she relates in her diary (cf. Charles Tennyson, p. 279, writing of the years 1853-1855), and his continued interest in Lucretius is shown by his poem *Lucretius*, published in 1868.

⁷ Cf. *Lucr.* 2. 646-51, 1093-1104; 3. 18-24; 5. 82, 146-99; 6. 56-78.

⁸ *Classical Echoes in Tennyson* (New York, 1904) p. 73, n. 10.

⁹ *Darwin Among the Poets* (Chicago, 1932) pp. 78-79.

¹⁰ Harold Nicolson, *Tennyson* (Boston, 1922) p. 46, aptly describes Tennyson's education in classical literature as "imaginative rather than precise." Nicolson's point may be illustrated by Tennyson's free treatment of Lucretius' gods.

¹¹ Although these storms and battles mentioned by Lucretius are to be taken not literally but symbolically, as typifying the troubles of the unconverted, and although Lucretius tries to mitigate the harshness of the passage by writing *non quia vexari quemquam lucunda voluptas* (2. 3), I agree with C. Bailey, *Titi Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura* (Oxford, 1947) vol. 2, p. 797, that "to almost all readers these lines have an unpleasant taste of egoism and even of cruelty."

¹² *Lucretius and His Influence* (New York, 1935) pp. 112-23.

¹³ (Above, note 11) vol. 1, introd., p. 17.

¹⁴ *Lucretius, Epicurean and Poet* (New York, 1907) pp. 284-89.

¹⁵ *Epicurus and His Philosophy* (Minneapolis, 1955) pp. 279-83.

¹⁶ *Epicurus and His Gods*, trans. C. W. Chilton (Oxford, 1955) pp. 59-62.

¹⁷ Similarity between this passage and Bion, *Idyll 7* (Ahrens) has often been noticed. Bion's fragmentary poem is hedonistic in tone, although perhaps not strictly Epicurean.

¹⁸ I am unable to agree with DeWitt (above, note 15) pp. 217-39, when he argues that Epicurus regarded life itself as a greater good than pleasure. Even if DeWitt's contention should be granted for Epicurus, it would not be true with regard to Lucretius. For in seeking to prove that death is not an evil Lucretius is led to disparage life in such passages as 3. 935-63, 1046-89; and the superiority of pleasure over life as such is clearly implied by 5. 177-78, *natus enim debet quicumque est velle manere / in vita, donec retinebit blanda voluptas*.

¹⁹ Tennyson's "All things have rest and ripen toward the grave" (Choric Song 51), especially in its unusual prepositional phrase, seems reminiscent of *omnia paulatim tabescere et ire / ad capulum* (Lucr. 2. 1173-74) but the resemblance would be more striking if *tabescere* were closer in meaning to "ripen." Moreover, Tennyson's text could possibly have read *ad scopulum* (with O), in which case the parallel would disappear. I. Vossius' *ad capulum* has virtually become the vulgate, but *ad scopulum* has had a few defenders.

²⁰ Cf. Charles Tennyson (above, note 6) p. 131.

²¹ Cf. Charles Tennyson, p. 133.

²² Cf. Miss Green (above, note 4) pp. 679-83.

²³ *The Alien Vision of Victorian Poetry* (Princeton, 1952) pp. 10-11.

²⁴ (Above, note 6) pp. 132-33.

²⁵ *Science and English Poetry* (New York, 1950) p. 112. Bush is here speaking of several poems, including *The Lotos-Eaters*.

²⁶ *The Works of Tennyson*, ed. Hallam Tennyson (New York, 1926) p. 904. Tennyson, by no means a professional scholar in philosophy, does not restrict his Epicureans to those pleasures that a true Epicurean would regard as legitimate. The sensual pleasure that Tennyson seems to regard as Epicurean in *The Vision of Sin* is not of a genuinely Epicurean character. One suspects that Tennyson here may have been influenced by some current handbook which represented Epicureanism as a voluptuous hedonism, in accordance with an ancient and widespread misconception. On the other hand, the pleasure anticipated by the storm-tossed mariners in *The Lotos-Eaters* turns out, not surprisingly, to be an orthodox Epicurean calm and repose.

²⁷ Tennyson, I believe, was attracted by the poetry of Lucretius and repelled by the philosophy.

²⁸ Charles Tennyson (above, note 6) pp. 89-91, seems right in considering the *Supposed Confessions of a Second-rate Sensitive Mind* (1830), with its expressions of religious doubt, to be voicing an earlier mood which the poet had definitely put behind him by the time the poem was published. *The Two Voices* (first published in 1844, but dated 1833) describes a conflict in a soul between the voice of faith and the voice of doubt; the poet introduces a devout church-bound family into the poem, and this settles the issue in favor of the voice of faith.

²⁹ *Poems of Tennyson* (Boston, 1903) p. 350.

³⁰ Tennyson, *His Art and Relation to Modern Life* (New York, 1899) p. 127.

³¹ (Above, note 4) p. 668.

³² Aubrey De Vere, as quoted by Hallam Tennyson (*Alfred, Lord Tennyson a Memoir* [New York, 1911] vol. 1, p. 504), recalls that Tennyson once pointed out to him the "improvement" brought about by the new final stanza "setting forth the Lucretian Philosophy respecting the Gods, their aloofness from all human interests and elevated action, an Epicurean and therefore hard-hearted repose, sweetened not troubled by the endless wail from the earth."

³³ *Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry* (Cambridge, 1937) pp. 207-208.

³⁴ *Tennyson Sixty Years After* (Chapel Hill, 1948) pp. 74-75, 275-76.

³⁵ On this topic cf. E. D. H. Johnson (above, note 23) p. 10.

³⁶ "The Classical Poems of Tennyson," *CJ* 24 (1928) 101.

³⁷ A Selection from the Poems of Alfred, Lord Tennyson (New York, 1944) p. x. Paul Turner, "The Stupidest English Poet," *English Studies* 30 (1949) 1-12, attempts, with a good measure of success, to defend Tennyson from the imputation of stupidity in his theological speculations.

³⁸ Parts of an earlier version of this paper were read at a meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States in Washington, D.C., April 29, 1960.

we see by the papers editor RICHARD M. FRAZER, JR.

FOR BOYS ASPIRING TO MANHOOD: LATIN

The following very interesting contribution to the interpretation of the history of classical scholarship is reprinted from Newsweek, November 7.

NATIVE BOYS aspiring to manhood in New South Wales had to have a tooth knocked out. In Indonesia, they were tattooed with thorns before they were admitted to the tribe. Has Western civilization ever had such punishing puberty rites? Absolutely, says the Rev. Walter J. Ong, professor of English at St. Louis University: for four long centuries, the rite was the study of Latin.

Writing in the autumn issue of *The Yale Review*, the distinguished Jesuit scholar takes a shrewd sociological look at this trial by classical learning. As he points out, medieval Latin was "a sexually specialized language, used almost exclusively for communication between male and male." It was rigorously flogged into boys by male scholars as the mystic key—the *lingua franca*—to all mature wisdom. From Renaissance times, the author expains, youngsters who studied Latin "were treated as little men—as having moved out of the family, away from feminine influence into the tribe." The British public school, devoted to classics backed by a switch, was a later extension of the same ritual.

Under this austere training away from mother, students were confined largely to passages that exemplified heroic events from the works of Cicero, Virgil, and Horace. By reading such selections, they were supposed to absorb a philosophy of manliness and moral toughness.

Gradually, Father Ong says, this purpose has been corrupted. Today youngsters are urged to take Latin because its grammatical analysis is supposed to toughen the mind. Whether this modern theory is valid or not, contemporary teachers still use the same old heroic passages. The author notes that Latin students are older now—long past the age of puberty—and they need broader reading matter. "Instead of the old texts, students should branch out and read lots of Latin authors," Father Ong said in an interview last week. "We must

promote real fluency, not grammatical analysis, and study Latin like any other language."

THE GODS STILL LIVE?

Greek mythology is still a lively subject. Our thanks to Professor Graves Thompson of Hampden-Sydney College for the following discussion concerning the sons of Aesculapius from the Richmond Times-Dispatch (October). The title: "How Many Snakes, Doc?"

HAMLET had a hard time trying to decide whether "to be or not to be?" For physicians the question is: "One snake or two?"

At the heart of the problem is the caduceus. The caduceus is a straight wand around which are entwined twin snakes and at the top of which is a pair of wings.

The caduceus is the emblem of the military medical corps, and we always thought it was also a proper symbol for physicians, as Webster's dictionary says it is.

But the American Medical Association contends that the caduceus does not carry any implication as a symbol of medicine. The caduceus represents the wand and wings of Hermes, messenger of the Greek gods, who separated two snakes that were fighting, says the *AMA News*.

On the other hand, the AMA's own symbol is a knotty staff around which a single snake is entwined. This represents the staff of Aesculapius, the mythical god of medicine and healing.

Aesculapius, according to the legend, was attending a patient who had been struck by a thunderbolt, when a serpent crept into the room. Aesculapius killed it. Whereupon a second snake came in, put herbs in the mouth of the dead snake and revived it. Aesculapius logically reasoned that if the herb was good for the snake it was good for his patient, and he thereupon administered it, with excellent results.

The knots in Aesculapius' staff represent the knotty problem of medicine. The snake represents healing, since it sloughs off its

skin periodically and thus renews its life.

So whether he chooses Hermes' wand or Aesculapius' staff, the physician will have to take at least one snake. This is entirely appropriate, historically, but curiously enough, symbolically links one of our most honored professions with the reptile that induced Eve to eat the apple which, munched one a day, is supposed to "keep the doctor away."

A perhaps revealing item from the column of Abigail van Buren, familiarly known to many as Dear Abby, gives evidence of an unusual piety (New Orleans States-Item, October 17).

DEAR ABBY: My sister is going to a masquerade party and she is dreaming up a costume. She wants to go as a Greek Goddess or an Oriental High Priestess. I told her I didn't think it was right to go dressed up as one of these. I asked her how she would like it if she were in a foreign country and one of the kids came dressed up like a Catholic priest or a Baptist minister. She said she never thought of it that way. My mother said to stop arguing and to write to you.

OLDER SISTER

DEAR SISTER: There is nothing disrespectful about masquerading as a "Greek Goddess" or an "Oriental High Priestess." You are exceptionally kind to consider the possibilities of sacrilege.

POLITICS AND THE GREEKS

The two articles below are concerned with present-day politics in America and make reference to Greek political history. The first (contributed by Professor Graves Thompson) appeared as an editorial in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* of February 10, 1960. It contrasts the ideal of personal responsibility in government with a present emphasis on collectivism.

THE SADDEST THING about our search for womb-to-tomb security, with its apotheosis of comfort and denigration of thought, is that the concept of individualism has vanished. Few believe in a man's competence, sense of responsibility or right to dissent.

He is believed incapable of putting aside enough money to pay his federal income tax, so this is deducted from his paycheck. He can't or won't save enough for his old age, so this is taken care of by another de-

duction which his employer must match.

He can't or won't be thrifty enough to take care of himself during illness; thus there is an increasing clamor for national health insurance. Some states and cities keep him from becoming a bigot by banning such insidious works as *Huckleberry Finn*, though it seems a six-year-old would be able to see that the Negro, Jim, is the most intelligent and sympathetic character in the book.

What reminded us forcefully of all this smothering is a passage by Edith Hamilton describing those paragons of individualism, the Greeks at the time when Athens was at its height:

"A Greek had a passion for being left free to live his life in his own way. He wanted to act by himself and to think for himself. It did not come natural to him to turn to others for direction; he depended upon his own sense of what was right and true. Indeed, there was no generally acknowledged source of direction anywhere in Greece except the oracles, difficult to reach and still more difficult to understand. Athens had no authoritarian church, or state either, to formulate what a man should believe and to regulate the details of how he should live. There was no agency or institution to oppose his thinking in any way he chose on anything whatsoever. As for the state, it never entered an Athenian's head that it could interfere with his private life: that it could see, for instance, that his children were taught to be patriotic, or limit the amount of liquor he could buy, or compel him to save for his old age. Everything like that a citizen of Athens had to decide for himself and take full responsibility for."

Thucydides admirably described this near-perfect philosophy by saying, "We are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness."

The second article (contributed by Professor Graydon W. Regenos of Tulane University) is a *United Press* feature appearing in the *October 30, New Orleans Times-Picayune*. It describes the changes in methods of voting during the past 2000 years.

THE PHYSICAL MEANS by which voters register their will have undergone a considerable evolution over the past 2000 years.

The oldest known method of voting — still used in many group meetings and legislative assemblies — is by shouting (the "ayes" and "nays"). Showing hands or standing up to be counted is similarly ancient.

The Greeks invented the secret ballot.

They voted with black and white balls dropped into urns. The white balls were a vote for, the black balls a vote against. That's where the term "blackball" originated.

The paper ballot, on which the voter marked his selections with a pencil, came next, and held sway for a very long time. It is still being used in many parts of America.

Most Americans, however, now use voting machines. The voting machine was invented by Thomas Edison, who patented the idea in 1868, when he was only 19 years old. The first voting machines were used in an election in Lockport, N.Y., in 1892. Today there are more than 70,000 voting machines in the United States.

NEW ARCHEOLOGICAL FINDS

According to an Associated Press release (States-Item, October 27) the King of Sweden has not been idling on the job.

KING GUSTAV (VI) Adolf of Sweden, an ardent archeologist, said today that the Greeks and Etruscans had actively exchanged goods 500 years before the birth of Christ.

King Gustav said that important discoveries have been made concerning Etruscan and prehistoric cultures. The Swedish-Italian excavations he took part in began in 1955 at San Giovanale di Blera, about fifty-five miles north of Rome.

Near the spot they found about thirty tombs with ceramics estimated to have been made from 620 to 400 B.C. These included amphorae (vases) and other pieces, some of Greek origin and others of pure Etruscan style.

A big red amphora with figures in black was among pieces exhibited to reporters. "This was found in a tomb and it is one of the most important discoveries we made," said the King. "It shows that the Etruscans and the Greeks had a very active commerce 500 years B.C."

The King, who for the last five years has spent a month annually at the excavations, said traces of an Etruscan house of the fifth century B.C. also were found.

Paleographers will note the transitional spelling "Themistockles" in the next article (Times-Picayune, October). Is the older Latinized "Themistocles" giving way before the Philhellenized "Themistokles"?

AN INSCRIBED SLAB recalling the battle of Salamis has been found in the Greek village of Troezen, in the Peloponnesus. It bears the proclamation, made in 480 B.C., by the great Athenian leader Themistocles on the approach of the Persians led by Xerxes. It directed the women and children to be evacuated. After the Persians had destroyed Athens, Themistocles [sic] defeated them in the narrow Straits of Salamis. The slab may have been inscribed 150 years after the Greek victory.

From the New York Times News Service (Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 9) comes a report by Arnaldo Cortesi on the discovery of a Roman fleet. Gratiarum Professori Thompson iterumque.

THE REMAINS of seven Roman cargo ships have been found in the excavations of the ancient Roman port of Ostia.

The receding sea has left the port miles inland and its ancient structures are among the first things that are seen by travelers arriving at the new international airport at Fiumicino.

The excavations are now approaching the port of Claudius, which formed part of the port of Ostia. Archeologists believe that here they probably will find a "graveyard of ships."

The Roman historian Tacitus recounts that in 62 A.D. about 200 cargo ships were sunk in the port of Claudius by a storm. About 100 ships that escaped into the Tiber were later destroyed by fire. It is thought that the remains of the 200 sunk are probably still at the bottom of the port.

The seven ships found measured about 26 feet by 13, this apparently being the standard size for Roman cargo vessels. Little was left of them except their skeleton beams, but these were found to be in a fair state of preservation. They offered no clue to the puzzle of how the rowers and the oars were disposed in Roman biremes and triremes, or in other words in ships with two or three banks of oars.

AJAX IN THE *ILIAD*

RICHARD L. TRAPP

A SURPRISINGLY large number of modern commentators on the character and personality of Ajax, as he appears in the *Iliad*, see him as a simple-minded giant, whose *areté* rests solely upon his great physical strength and animal courage displayed on the field of battle. C. M. Bowra, for example, declares that Ajax is a man of action, but not much else.¹ He is below the heroic standard of intelligence. Although brave as a lion, he lacks brains. Gilbert Highet states that Homer introduced into his epic only one comic hero—Ajax.² Sidney Hook believes that a modern Ajax would occupy a booth in the side show of a circus.³ M. W. Mansur views Ajax as a Samson of the Greek army, a burly athlete, weak above the shoulders and no good in the council.⁴ All these interpretations of Ajax's character point directly to the representation of the hero in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. In this play he is the self-willed, stupid braggart whom Thersites calls "thou mongrel beef-witted lord!"⁵ Earlier in the play Alexander had described him as valiant as a lion, churlish as a bear and slow as an elephant.⁶

This is not the Ajax of the *Iliad*. Only once in the entire poem is it implied that Ajax is stubborn or stupid. In 13.824 Hector calls him a bellowing ox. But we must remember that it is

an enemy who hurls this insult, an enemy whom Ajax has already beaten more than once.

Let us look at the two similes in 11.548-65 which the scholars mentioned above present as the chief evidence for their view of Ajax's character. Agamemnon, Diomedes and Odysseus have been wounded; the Trojans are pushing the Greeks back to the ships. Through the ranks of warriors strides Hector, exulting in his glory, eager for battle, but avoiding an encounter with Ajax. At this point Zeus rouses Ajax to flight. The hero throws his huge shield on his back, and retreats slowly step by step. Homer compares him to a hungry lion driven from the fold by dogs and farmers. As the lion goes straight on he meets a shower of javelins and firebrands, and finally at dawn retreats in sullen mood. Even so does Ajax reluctantly give way!

A second simile follows immediately. In a cornfield boys are breaking their cudgels upon the back of a stubborn ass, but their strength is only that of children. They can hardly drive him out when he has eaten his fill. Even so the Trojans press around Ajax, striking his shield with their spears; he stands alone between Achaeans and Trojans and bars the way to the ships.

These similes Professor Highet inter-

prets thus: "What Homer meant, therefore, was that Aias was as brave as a lion and as stupid as a donkey, and that his bravery and his stupidity were closely connected aspects of his personality."

M. W. Mansur interprets them: "Homer has two similes which effectively sum up the character of Aias. In one he is compared as he reluctantly retreats before the Trojans to a lion whom dogs and farmers drive from a steading, and in the other he is likened to a stubborn ass whom little boys cannot drive out of a cornfield. Just so, Aias, though brave as a lion, is slow-witted as an ass."

Now, while there is a touch of humor in the second simile, surely this was not Homer's chief purpose in introducing the comparison of Ajax to a stubborn ass. Nor does it, in any way, refer to stupidity in the hero.

Homer makes two important observations in the second simile. First there is a special mark of the character of Ajax, his endurance in battle, especially when the odds are against him. It is not stupid obstinacy that Homer portrays here, but rather stout resistance against the enemy striving to overwhelm him.⁷

The second observation in this simile concerns the Trojans themselves. Pressing hard upon the hero, they strike his shield with their spears, but against the stubborn resistance of the slowly retreating hero they are warriors whose strength is the feeble strength of little boys. Never do the Trojans get the better of him in the retreat.

Episodes in the *Iliad* also show that Ajax is not the ponderous, witless character some believe him to be. An example of his good sense and prudence occurs in the Embassy Scene, 9. 182-655. Nestor carefully selects three men for the embassy: Odysseus, the persuasive speaker; Phoenix, the guardian and

tutor of Achilles; Ajax, a warrior second only to Achilles.

Achilles cannot heed the appeal of Odysseus nor accept his offer. Neither the return of Briseis nor the offer of valuable gifts can remove the outrage to his pride. There is no indication that Agamemnon has repented or apologized. There is no guarantee that such an offense may not be repeated. Nor can Achilles accept Odysseus' plea on behalf of the army. Not one soldier stood up for him or showed loyalty to him when he was insulted by Agamemnon.

The appeal made by Phoenix, as well, contains no hint of apology. As Achilles' foster-father and tutor of old, he begs him to curb his proud spirit and to remember that even the gods can bend. He warns him that prayers denied are followed by punishment. As he continues, he is, like Odysseus, not understanding at all the hero's feelings; he places again the chief emphasis upon material gain for Achilles.

Ajax is the first to recognize that it is useless to press Achilles further. Although he berates Achilles for refusing to accept the gifts, Ajax bases his plea upon the concept of loyal friendship. In the end Ajax speaks not as an envoy from Agamemnon, but as a friend and fellow-soldier. He probes the true feelings of Achilles and to some extent sways his determination, for Achilles tells Ajax that all he has said is almost what he himself really feels (644-45). Because of his wrath Achilles cannot fully yield to Ajax's plea on behalf of the army. He does agree to enter the fight again, but not until Hector and the Trojans have come to the ships of the Myrmidons.

Agamemnon himself observes the good sense and prudence of Ajax when he declares (1.144-45) that Ajax together with Idomeneus, Odysseus and

Achilles are *boule-phóroi*, "counsellors." As such he may be entrusted to escort Chryseis back to her father. The leader of such a mission would need to be more than a strong bull-headed warrior.

The enemy, too, recognize in Ajax qualities other than strength and skill as a warrior. The first personal combat between Hector and Ajax, together with the exchange of gifts, reveals what Hector terms the *pinuté* or wisdom of the hero (7.288-89).

Ajax has been described by some scholars as very ponderous, clumsy and unable to move with any ease or grace.⁸ There are many passages in the *Iliad* describing the great size of his body and his prodigious physical strength. When Priam asks Helen to identify the Greek warrior who is valiant and tall, towering above the other Argives, she identifies him in words especially characteristic of his physical appearance and of his chief role in the *Iliad*: "Huge Ajax, bulwark of the Achaeans."⁹ The mere appearance of Ajax in the battle line fills his comrades with confidence and joy and the enemy with fear and trembling (7.215-16). Only he and Achilles are able to wield his great shield in battle; it takes several men to carry it when Ajax grows weary.¹⁰

Because of his huge size and enormous strength Ajax is noted chiefly as the great defensive warrior of the Achaeans, but he is often found in the forefront of battle when the Greeks are on the offensive. In Book 6.5-11 he is the first to break a battalion of Trojans as the attack begins. His chief prowess, however, is displayed when the Greeks are being hard pressed and driven back. Here Ajax is the strong and valiant "bulwark of the Achaeans." In his rescue of the wounded Odysseus, he stands by him with his huge shield. He is like a lion scattering in flight ravening jackals. Then he takes the offensive, and he is

a river in flood swollen by winter rain, pouring over the land, carrying many an oak and many a pine down to the sea. Cutting down horses and men, Ajax drives the Trojans in rout over the field. Not until Zeus himself rouses the hero to flight are the Trojans able to drive the Greeks back to the wall.

When the Lycians attack in force part of the wall, Menestheus thinks first of Ajax and Teucer and calls them to his aid. If both cannot come, then the valiant Ajax is to come alone. Ajax rushes in and is the first to slay his man as the enemy mount the breastworks. He and Teucer contain the enemy at the wall until Hector breaks down the gates and the Trojans rush into the encampment (12.330-471).

Around Ajax and Teucer the Greek battalions take their stand to ward off the Trojans from the ships. The conflict continues until Ajax seriously wounds Hector and turns the battle in favor of the Achaeans (14.402-41).

One of the high points in the fighting around the ships occurs in Book 15. 674-746. Ajax does not choose to stand where the Achaeans are fighting in groups. Instead, he goes alone over the decks of the ships, carrying in his hands the long pike used in sea-fighting. Homer compares him to an acrobat or tumbler (15.679-88):

... Just as the skilled horseman, when he has chosen four horses and harnessed them together, drives swiftly from the plain toward the city along the highway. Men and women run together and marvel at him as he bounds safely up and down from horse to horse while they gallop along at high speed. So Ajax bounded up and down from deck to deck in long jumps while he shouted to the Danaans to defend their fleet and camp.

Is this the picture of a ponderous clumsy giant?

Ajax holds his position until Hector shears off the point of his spear. Ajax recognizes this as an act of the gods

and knows that Zeus has willed victory for the enemy. He gives ground, and the first fire is hurled upon the ships.

In these episodes we can also observe the ability of the hero to speak eloquently and forcefully when occasion demands. From some interpretations of his character one might suspect that Ajax is quite incapable of even the simplest expression, but his words as well as his action rally the Achaeans during the bloody fighting near the ships. When Hector calls upon his men to fight to the death for their fatherland, wives and children, it is Ajax who admonishes and encourages the Achaeans.¹¹

In the battle around the body of Patroclus Ajax again advises the Greeks how best to fight and to drive back the enemy. His words reveal that he alone is aware that Zeus is favoring the Trojans and that their only hope of saving the body of Patroclus and their own lives as well is to get word to Achilles. He ends with a prayer characteristic of his valiant spirit (17. 645-47):

Father Zeus, deliver from the darkness the sons of the Achaeans, make the sky bright and allow us to see clearly. Slay us in the light, since to kill us is your pleasure.

All his speeches reveal him as a great soldier who recognizes that only firm resistance aroused by a sense of shame can drive back the enemy. They show his outstanding qualities of leadership as he rallied his men and inspires them to fight courageously. He is quick to formulate new plans as occasion demands. His words and ideas are not those of a "beef-witted lord."

Self-confidence is another predominant characteristic of Ajax. There is no hint in the *Iliad* of the arrogance which in another legend of the hero offends Athena. The confidence which Ajax has in himself is matched by the trust in his skill and bravery which his com-

rades reveal (especially 4. 287-91). When lots are cast to determine which of the heroes is to fight with Hector, the hope of all the Greeks is that the lot may fall upon one of three warriors: Ajax, Diomedes, or Agamemnon. The lot falls to the first, who rejoices that he has been chosen. He asks the Greeks to pray to Zeus in silence, or openly, if they wish. He declares (7. 196-99):

I fear no one at all. Of his own will no man will ever forcibly cause me to run away. No one is so clever. Not unskilled was I born and bred in Salamis.

He shows this self-confidence as he goes like huge Ares to meet Hector. He springs forth with a smile on his grim face, taking long strides and brandishing his far-shadowing spear. The smile is not one of contempt for his enemy, but rather an expression of confidence in his own strength and skill.

In a brief comparison of Ajax with other heroes in the *Iliad* we find that as a man of action Diomedes shares the glory with Ajax. M. van der Valk, indeed, believes that Diomedes is the more prominent hero.¹² The chief evidence for this preeminence of Diomedes is to be found in Books 5, 6 and 8. Diomedes fights even with gods and endangers Troy as Achilles himself had not been able to do. He boldly rejects the shameful advice of Agamemnon to abandon the war and return home. He is constantly aided by the gods whereas Ajax is not. It is necessary to observe, however, that most of Diomedes' exploits on the battlefield take place at a time when the Greeks are victorious. While he is a brave warrior who always refuses to retreat, we never see him in situations comparable to those in which Ajax alone or with one or two companions holds off the hard-pressing enemy. Surely Homer does not remove Diomedes from the battlefield in order to spare him the disgrace of partaking

in a retreat. A retreat in which Ajax plays the leading role is not an ignominious action. Diomedes, more impetuous and reckless than Ajax, lacks the cool-headed self-control necessary in a crisis. It is true that Diomedes is a more eloquent "speaker of words" than Ajax. In this respect he does excel, but at the same time he considers diplomacy and statesmanship of little worth.

In comparison with Agamemnon, Ajax has more grandeur and confidence in the face of what seem to be insurmountable odds. When serious danger threatens, the egotistical, imperious Agamemnon loses courage and is ready to give up. In comparison with Odysseus, Ajax has not his keenness of mind nor his cunning, but in every way is more frank and straightforward. Menelaus is not the great warrior Ajax is, and he tends to follow the latter's lead in times of crises. He lacks the enterprise that Ajax shows in difficult situations. In comparison with Hector, Ajax seems to be the better and more skillful warrior. Until the appearance of Achilles Hector fears no Greek more than Ajax. Nor does he have the self-confidence of Ajax. He fights courageously in the melee, but tries to avoid individual combat with Ajax or Achilles.

If Ajax's *monomachia* with Hector be added to the hero's exploits in the battle at the wall, the defense of the ships and the fight over the body of Patroclus, we have what may be termed the *aristeia* of Ajax in the

Iliad. Second only to Achilles in might and in deeds of war, he is especially noted throughout the *Iliad* as the willing champion of the Greeks when their need is greatest. For that reason especially he is highly esteemed by all his fellow soldiers. He is a man of few words, but knows how to speak wisely and effectively when occasion demands. He reveres the gods and yields to them when he must. Above all he is loyal and unselfish, always ready to put to the test his great strength and skill as a warrior wherever and whenever he is needed in the conflict.

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¹ *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (Oxford, 1930) pp. 204-205.

² *The Classical Tradition* (Oxford, 1953) p. 273.

³ *The Hero in History* (New York, 1950) p. 91.

⁴ "The Treatment of Homeric Characters by Quintus of Smyrna" (Columbia University Thesis, 1940) pp. 12-13.

⁵ Act II, Scene I, 13.

⁶ Act I, Scene II, 19-21.

⁷ The ass pays no heed to the blows. This is made clear by the use of the adjective *nothēs* (usually translated "sluggish" or "stubborn") whether the etymology *no-* + *óthomai* is correct or not. The idea is one of indifference to the blows laid on by the boys. Cf. W. Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1905) p. 317; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris, 1916) p. 676; J. B. Hofmann, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Griechischen* (Munich, 1950) p. 220.

⁸ Bowra, p. 204; H. Spiess, *Menschenart und Heldentum* (Paderborn, 1913) pp. 205-206.

⁹ Book 3, 229; see also 7, 208-11 and 13, 321-25.

¹⁰ Book 13, 709-11; 18, 192-93.

¹¹ Book 15, 502-13; 561-64.

¹² "Ajax and Diomedes in the *Iliad*," *Mn.*, Series IV, 5 (1952) 269-86.

BOOK REVIEWS

editor FRED W. HOUSEHOLDER, JR.

I rapporti romano-caeriti e l'origine della civitas sine suffragio, by MARTA SORDI. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1960. Pp. 188.

AMONG THE PROBLEMS which pullulate in the study of the crucial fourth century B.C., the precise nature of Rome's relationship with her Etruscan neighbors and the evolution of Romano-Etruscan affairs loom large. Regrettably, ancient sources are of little assistance because of their contradictory character and their lack of precise information. The proximity of Veii, and especially Caere, to Rome made these cities primordial stakes not only in the game of Romano-Etruscan politics, but also in the development of Rome's political attitude vis-à-vis her non-Latin neighbors. The present study by Marta Sordi re-examines and reinterprets the evidence on hand for the chronology and the sequence of events in the relationship between Rome and Caere.

The author reviews first of all the antecedents of the question in an orderly chronological fashion: the war between Rome and Veii, instigated by the problem of control over Fidenae and characterized by the non-intervention of the Etruscan League in favor of its member for political (Livy 5.1.7) and economic reasons, gave impetus to a rapprochement between Rome and Caere. The Gallic invasion and the fall of Rome in 387/6 B.C. furnished another occasion to the Caerites to assist the Romans in defeating the Gauls (before or after the presumed capture of the city), assistance (including hospitality given to the *sacra*) which would have been recompensed by the grant of the *civitas sine suffragio* status by Rome. Marta Sordi rejects the 353 B.C. date (as well as the later 338) given to this last event by certain scholars like Mommsen, Sherwin-White, De Sanctis, on the basis of Livy (7. 19. 6-20), and favors 386 B.C. which would place it immediately after the Gallic catastrophe. The evidence of the *tabulae Caeritum* is not to be interpreted as an ignominious overtone of the status of *civitas sine suffragio*: the references in Gellius (16.13.7) and Strabo (5. 2.3.) require full evaluation and credit. The explanation for an entente between Rome and Caere centers justifiably not only on the vicissitudes in which Rome was plunged after the Gallic siege, but also on the dissolution of the Latin League and

the political interventions of Dionysius I in the affairs of the continent. The *trentennio* during which the alliance at least continued is qualified by Marta Sordi as a "philetruscan" period in the political atmosphere of Rome: these "philetruscan" propensities explain the recovery of Rome and manifest themselves in socio-political reforms, such as the Licinian-Sextian law (the *gens Licinia* being probably of Etruscan origin). In other terms, the plebeian gains obtained in this interval ought to be associated with an Etruscan democratic and benevolent influence, and attributed partly to a Roman receptivity explainable by the presence of Etruscan and "philetruscan" elements in the population of the city. From the international point of view, the Caerite alliance introduced Rome into the political interplay of the western Mediterranean: the treaties with Massilia (386) and Carthage (348), as well as the expeditions to Corsica and Sardinia (islands not unfamiliar to Caerite mariners) are, the author asserts, re-evaluating Diodorus' and Theophrastus' evidences, the specific results of this slightly *sub-rosa* Romano-Caerite collaboration.

The politico-historical conclusions drawn by Mme. Sordi lead inevitably (in the light of her interpretation) to a re-definition of the status *civitas sine suffragio* in its Caerite context. She enlarges on the theory advanced a few years ago by De Visscher (in *Studi in onore di U. E. Paoli*, 1955) that in relation with *municipium* the term carries at this point honorific significance and no connotations of subservience. She regards the institution not as a purely Roman invention, but as a "characteristic clause" (involving *immunitas negotiis atque honoribus et hospitium publicum*) of treaties among western Mediterranean powers such as the Etruscan cities and Carthage. If the term still preserved its original implications when conferred upon the Campanians in 338 B.C., it underwent radical modifications soon thereafter and became then an indication of outright submission. In the particular case of Caere, this signified incorporation within the Roman state as a direct consequence of tension and the renewal of conflict between Rome and Etruria (Livy 6. 19. 6 ff. and Dio, fr. 33).

In an appendix, the author finally dwells on various specific and affiliated problems

of the so-called "*trentennio postgallico*," such as the personality of Camillus, the traditions behind the Gallic incursions and their aftermaths.

Mme. Sordi shows excellent command of her ancient and modern bibliographical data. In view of the contradictory and conflicting aspect of such evidence and its poverty of details, there is *passim* a lack of clarity in her account: for instance, her chapter dealing with the incorporation of Caere within the Roman territory, her theories regarding the transformation of the *civitas sine suffragio* into a position of inferiority are not well stated; her conciliation between the Livy passage (6. 19. 6 ff.) and the Dio fragment (33) which would date the Romano-Caerite break respectively to 353 and 273 B.C. is based merely on the analogies noted in the outcome of the conflict between the two statements; the two references would then be a "double version of the same event." Furthermore, the arguments in favor of such a conclusion and in respect to the chronological sequence of events as well are slim and not fully developed. On the other hand, the pros and the cons surrounding the date of the Romano-Caerite agreement are well developed and the theory in

favor of 386 B.C. convincing. In the maze of confusion so characteristic of fourth-century Roman and Italian history, it is reassuring to see at least one person move with a certain ease and authority.

KENAN T. ERIM

New York University

Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur, by ALBIN LESKY. Bern: Francke, 1958. Pp. 827. Sw. fr. 74.

PROFESSOR LESKY'S *magnum opus* proves that it is still possible for one man to write a history of Greek literature other than a sweeping survey for the general reader or a product of collective scholarship. In more than 800 pages the author follows the Hellenic genius through 1200 years of unparalleled creativity from Homer to Proclus and Nonnus. The work is a happy blend of liveliness and thorough classical scholarship. In spite of his comprehensive plan Lesky finds space for discussing, often in detail, some of the major problems (including those that still are waiting for a satisfactory solution). There are numerous notes and an ex-



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tensive up-to-date bibliography at the end of each section. Yet, this usefulness for constant reference does not imply the impersonal completeness of a handbook. Most of the book is eminently readable as it reveals the author's, one might say, Viennese sensitivity for the overtones of works and words, and for the interrelations between the products of Greek literature and the cultural, political, philosophical and religious conditions and tendencies of Hellenic society in general.

It is obvious that even a scholar with such a vast range of knowledge and interests as Lesky had to impose upon himself certain limitations. He did not include the Christian writers; and although the tremendous output of scientific and technical works, one of the glories of Hellenic genius, is frequently referred to, only those of representative significance or literary merit come in for discussion. This applies also to some sections of philosophy, although in this field excellence of thought and of literary form more frequently coincide. Emphasis is on those works and periods which have most intensely shaped the classical and humanist tradition. Thus three fourths of the book deals with the four

centuries of classical literature from the *Iliad* to Demosthenes and Aristotle. This area also includes the subjects with which the author's research has been signally connected for many years. Here we find analyses and discussions which also will give the specialist material for re-thinking the problems as well as for re-reading the texts. There are many relevant comments about philosophical literature from Heraclitus to Plato and Aristotle, about the lyric poets, about the two great historians and their successors, and about the complementary peaks of Greek oratory, Isocrates and Demosthenes. But, as was to be expected, it is in the chapters on Homeric poetry (where Lesky belongs to those who ascribe the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to two different though closely related poets) and on the drama of the fifth century that the author offers the greatest variety of striking observations, especially concerning details of interpretation.

On the other hand, the literature of the Hellenistic and Imperial period had to be discussed in the limited space of little more than 200 pages; but it is a joy to read what Lesky has to say about the four great poets of early Hellenism: Menander (including the recently discovered *Dyskolos*), Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius Rhodius. There is also a good chapter on Hellenistic historiography and on representatives of the two leading philosophies such as Epicurus, Panaetius and Posidonius. The Imperial age is treated as a kind of aftermath. In consequence, writers of even the greatest importance, such as Plutarch or Plotinus, although their major contributions are presented, do not quite receive the particular consideration they deserve. An index covers all authors and works mentioned. This book will be a valuable asset to the library of every college which offers courses in comparative literature or in the Greek classics in the original or in translation.

FELIX M. WASSERMANN

Kansas Wesleyan University

Cicero, Selected Works, translated with introduction and notes by MICHAEL GRANT. Baltimore: Penguin Classics, 1960. Pp. 272. \$95.

PROFESSOR GRANT in this new translation would seem to be trying to erase the common reader's image of Cicero as a writer of difficult Latin about a strange, abortive revolution. For Cicero's writing, we must all admit, has failed to capture the imagination of the reader today who has even

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the dubious merit of little Latin. To be blunt, Cicero seems irrelevant to the twentieth century.

At a time when the general public knows less and less of Cicero in the original or in translation, Grant's selection goes far towards illuminating Cicero's importance. It contains a 32-page introduction on Cicero's life, thought and fame, followed by two sections of translations with adequate notes. Part One, entitled "Against Tyranny," offers his first speech against Verres, twenty-three of his letters and the *Second Philippic*. Part Two, "How to Live," includes book three of *On Duties* and *On Old Age*. A list of extant works, genealogical tables, a glossary of technical terms and four maps form the appendix; finally there is an index of personal names. This unhackneyed selection well illustrates the two themes of the volume: the biography of Cicero and his opposition to tyranny. Therefore, I won't quarrel with the suppression of some of the complexity surrounding Cicero's life which a wider choice of the letters would have indicated, nor the ambiguities of Cicero's morality which some other of the speeches might more adequately have marked.

Instead I shall content myself with two reservations: first, the translations themselves, and second, the presentation of Cicero as a moderate liberal. Grant's translations are adequate in the sense that they convey the general idea of each work, but they have almost nothing of Cicero's style and thus reveal less than they should about his mind. For example, no discernible difference exists between the orations, the essays and the letters; consequently all distinctions in tone which Cicero carefully observed are lost. Grant in his introduction has defended himself against just such a charge as this by remarking that writing rhetorical English today denies the first objective of a translator, readability. But "readability" does not absolve the translator of responsibility to the author. One need not return to the rhetoric of seventeenth-century English as Grant implies, for, after all, Churchill, for example, has managed quite well to write effective "rhetorical" prose. The difficulty and the consequently unsatisfying rendering of Cicero's writing comes about, I think, because the word "rhetoric" is misunderstood. We all use rhetoric, for it's just as "rhetorical" to write in the style of the *New Yorker*

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or Hemingway as it is to write in Churchill's or Cicero's style. To cite an ancient illustration, Plato's *Apology* involves as much rhetoric as does any essay of Cicero. Rhetoric is not something added to the content as a lady adds a jewel to her costume. It is the means whereby a prose writer as effectively as possible forms his thought, it is the way he thinks. True, today the moderately good prose writer with an average audience in mind does not employ the variety of grammatical and syntactical figures which Cicero uses. But then the average writer, like the average reader, does not have as subtle or complicated a mind as Cicero. One would think that the translator would not want to palm Cicero off as a writer for *Harper's* or the *Atlantic*. The reader of such a volume as this needs to be made aware as possible of the quality of the mind of the original author. To reduce the original to the consistency of pap denies the author his force and confirms the reader's prejudices. The success modern translators have had with ancient poetry would seem to indicate that rendering ancient prose was not beyond possibility. Grant has not shown us the complexity of Cicero's writing.

But streamlining Cicero's prose would seem to follow from Grant's insistence on portraying Cicero as a liberal, "the greatest ancestor of that whole liberal moderate tradition in western life which is at hazard today." To call Cicero a liberal muddles any political significance that term has. Cicero fought, true enough, against autocracy, but he fought for the senatorial order, the oligarchy which he of all people knew to be reactionary and self-seeking, as willing to suppress divergent opinion as any tyrant ever was. Even the speech against Verres is not a plea for liberalism, nor is it a defense particularly undertaken for the rescue of the suppressed. The operative word in the phrase quoted above is, of course, "moderate." That better describes Cicero who as a *novus homo* had at no time any real political power. He was forced because he enjoyed the "good things" of his time to accommodate and defend the ruling class. Nowhere in Cicero's writings do we find anything other than spasmodic impulses towards personal generosity and even those aren't of much importance. One could as easily call him a moderate conservative as a moderate liberal. In his private life he was the "moderate" good man, i.e., not

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especially bad or good. His talent for oratory and thus his ability in politics distinguish him from the average. For all his complexity and subtlety (or perhaps because of them) he was not an exceptional nor an original thinker, as he himself properly recognized. His philosophical writings are important historically, not for any profound insight they have into the human condition.

The importance of Cicero, and the reason he should be better known today, lies in his capacity to serve as an object lesson. He is the moderate man of good will, more articulate than most, but a moderate, nonetheless, confounded by a world he never made but with which he compromised. To make him the antique forerunner of modern liberalism who wrote modern prose is to deny Cicero's relevance.

ROGER HORNSBY

State University of Iowa

Humanistische Reden und Vorträge, by WERNER JAEGER. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1960. Pp. vii, 336.

THE DISTINGUISHED University Professorship at Harvard from which Werner Jaeger recently retired is not attached to any particular department, and Professor Jaeger's work has in fact embraced several fields. He is a traditional philologist of great acumen, witness his work on Gregory of Nyssa; an expert in philosophy, witness his important book on Aristotle; and a historian of culture, witness his grandiose *Paideia*. But above all he is a devoted humanist, and his work in special fields is all informed and illuminated by the glowing humanism which is the central theme of the discourses here presented. The collection is an expansion of a 1937 volume under the same title. (Professor Jaeger's fugitive philological papers are being published in Italy under the title *Scripta Minora*.) The papers were delivered upon various academic occasions from 1914 to 1959; the last two are in English. Most deal specifically with educational ideals, but in all, including the complimentary address to Diels, the memorial for Wilamowitz, the series on Plato, and the piece on Aristotle's magnanimous man, concern with the values of humanistic education is central.

The survival of civilization, in Professor Jaeger's view, depends on the humanist outlook, which should therefore be the focus of classical study. It is more vital than

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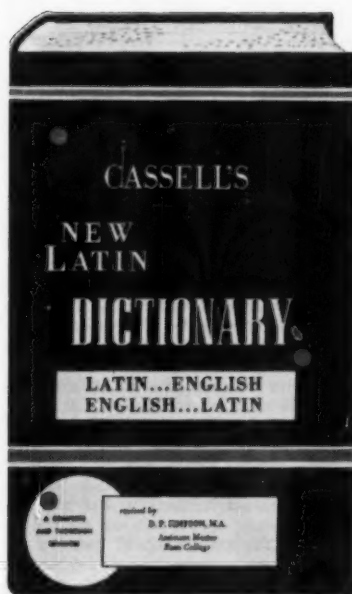
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mere historicism, but must be based on sound training in the classical languages. It must not be slighted, however urgent the pressure of other disciplines. It is not an inert legacy passed from hand to hand but like the torch in the ancient relays which flared into new light and warmth in the hands of each runner. There is nothing here which we happy few cannot applaud, and much that we might profitably borrow when called upon for similar apologies for our lifework.

The real test is the reception such justification would meet among critical audiences outside our charmed circle. What humanism seems to amount to, in Professor Jaeger's conception, is a mystical and exclusive cult to which only a spiritual elite can have access, but which alone, in turn, can produce such an elite. Its perfect and permanent paradigm is classical Athens, where an elite conscious of the obligations of its own nobility selflessly cultivated the most exalted reaches of human potentiality. The preciousness of such a view might suit the age of Pater and Symonds and its unconscious arrogance the temper of imperial Germany (to which some of the pieces

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in fact date) but it is not so sympathetic to 1960 America.

Indeed some of our own number are made uncomfortable by the Olympian view which has traditionally enshrined the fifth century. It may be that we have bent so low to scrutinize the clay feet of Pericles and Plato that we are incapable of seeing their haloes, but even in seeking guidance from the past truth is more salutary than a mirage. But it is only a particular emphasis in Professor Jaeger's book that may be judged extreme or antiquated. His general position is sound, and his presentation learned and eloquent and inspiring. Out of it emerges the portrait of an exquisite and civilized spirit in which Professor Jaeger's classical colleagues can take pride.

MOSES HADAS

Columbia University

Tenuis Musa, Hodiernal Latin Verse, by VAN L. JOHNSON. Medford, Mass.: The Department of Classics in Tufts University, 1960. Pp. 41. \$1.00.

THE RECENT INCREASE in the amount of modern Latin appearing in print shows clearly that classicists are more and more realizing the importance of using Latin as a language for the expression of hodiernal ideas. Especially in England and on the Continent Latin has been thus used for many years. British classicists are well known for their skill in writing Latin. A classical scholar from Antwerp, Belgium, Dr. J. Ijsewijn, is now planning to publish a work on Latin poets of the 20th century. In our country also there has lately been a growing interest in composing original Latin as well as in translating English prose and poetry into Latin. Among our more skillful Latini Hodierni is Professor Van L. Johnson of Tufts University, whose recently published *Tenuis Musa* contains original Latin verse and translations of considerable excellence and of great human interest to both the teacher and the taught. Most of the pieces in this slender volume have previously appeared in *The Classical Journal*, *The Classical Outlook*, and *The Boston Globe*. Professor Johnson's poems are intended "for Latin teachers in search of hodiernal reading for their pupils."

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elision is almost never met, and the meter is often of medieval origin. Thus we have, among others, a clever and singable paraphrase of "Auld Lang Syne" starting:

Memento iam praeterita
Amice, tempora;

and a graceful Latin version of Tennyson's "Fratres Ave Atque Vale." The latter is one of Professor Johnson's best, with its lovely liquid lines such as:

Sub ruinas plenas flore violae purpureo.

Less successful is Professor Johnson's rendering of "Paul Revere's Ride" by Longfellow. Certain lines of this seem to rear and buck when read aloud. In the same poem, furthermore, occurs the macaronic rhyming of *viz vir* (a bad enough combination of words in itself) with *Revere*; similarly the last two lines make *quisque vir* rhyme with *Pauli Revere*. This sort of thing in an otherwise serious poem may give some readers a twinge. Professor Johnson is fond of the macaronic and uses it in several other poems for delightfully humorous effects as, for example, in the last two lines of "Scaredy-Cat":

Metus expers iam excussi,
Age, lambe cenam, Pussy!

One is reminded of the comic effects of macaronic verse found in A. D. Godley's "The Motor Bus," Wild and Taylor's "The Links of Ancient Rome," and E. K. Rand's "Phi Beta Kappa Poem" of 1935. *Tenuis Musa* contains several examples of somewhat more subtle humor, as in "Cave, Canis" and "To a Quiet Canary"; gently humorous also is "First Flight: Grandma's."

There is fun and value for everyone in this collection of Latin poems. They will have their greatest appeal to secondary school students; this, I believe, was the author's real intention in writing them. One can easily imagine the variety and freshness which occasional use of such material would bring to a class bogged down in a morass of participles or bored with Cicero's orating. Realization that Latin can be used to write about Jumbo, Sputnik, Ted Williams and Paul Revere is a potent stimulant to any Latin class. The last piece in the book, "Carmen Feriale," is a short two-act play based on Dickens' "Christmas Carol," written in sprightly and quite simple Latin

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prose. It is well adapted for student production on the stage.

Tenuis Musa is beautifully printed and has an attractive format. For efficient use in the classroom it would seem to need a vocabulary and some simple notes which it lacks except for a few notes in Latin appended to the Jumbo poem. Only one error was noted: in the sixth line of poem 3 the genitive *vestrum* (with *miseresco*) would better be *vestri*.

Professor Johnson has done much over the years, perhaps more than any other college Latin instructor, to aid the cause of high school Latin. This little collection of poems is another example of the tireless zeal and enthusiasm with which he has worked toward this end.

JOHN K. COLBY

Phillips Academy
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L'Altorilevo di Afrodite a Cirene, by GUSTAVO TRAVERSARI. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1959. Pp. 44. 8 plates.

T. PRESENTS an appreciative and fairly thorough treatment of this much referred-to piece of sculpture found in 1917 near the Temple of Aphrodite in the Agora of Cyrene. He identifies the figures with justification as Demeter, Aphrodite, Eros and Kore, and also observes that the eclecticism of style (the piece exhibits both Praxitelean and Lysippan influences) indicates a date of composition not far from 300 B.C. Regarding the function of this relief, there can be no certainty. After discarding suggestions that it was part of a temple frieze, decoration for the base of a monument and a wing of an elaborate altar, T. assures us that it is useless to speculate regarding its use.

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Indiana University

CAMWS TREASURER'S REPORT

1. GENERAL FUND

Balance, June 30, 1959	
First National Bank, Boulder, Colorado	7,854.45
Univ. of Colo. Acct.	344.00
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	8,198.45

Receipts, 1959-60

Memberships and Subscriptions	13,651.26
Back Issues, Reprints and Index	446.07
Advertising	851.16
Miscellaneous	186.26
Receipts on Account	
Classical Outlook	568.80
Classical World	1,703.35
Classical Philology	438.00
Classical Bulletin	194.90
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Total Receipts	18,039.80
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	26,238.25

Disbursements, 1959-60

Printing Journal	12,532.15
Postage and Office Supplies	1,064.42
Salaries and Payroll	
Taxes	1,370.63
Moving	440.92
V-P and Committee Convention	232.21
1960 Convention, Southern Section	80.34
Addressographing	100.00
Auditing, Insurance and Bonding	133.88
Refunds and Bank Fees	86.18
Miscellaneous	73.82
Transfers to Reserve Fund	138.42
Remittances to Classical Outlook	3,918.02
Classical World	572.40
Classical Philology	1,697.70
Classical Bulletin	432.00
	180.00
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Total Disbursements	23,053.09
Balance, June 30, 1960	
Athens National Bank	3,185.16

2. SIMPLE SCHOLARSHIP FUND

Principal	
U.S. Savings Bond	5,000.00
Savings Acct. (First National Bank; Security Bank, Athens, Ohio)	3,900.00
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	8,900.00
Income	
Balance, June 30, 1959	114.06
Receipts	
Interest	253.04
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	367.10
Disbursements	
1960 Scholarship	250.00
Balance, June 30, 1960	117.10

3. RESERVE FUND

(Great West Savings and Loan Association)

Balance, June 30, 1959	2,533.78
Receipts	
Transfers from	
General Fund	3,918.02
Interest	86.21
	<hr/> 4,004.23
	<hr/> 6,538.01
Disbursements	
Purchases of Securities	4,983.52
Balance, June 30, 1960	1,554.49
Fund Assets, June 30, 1960	
Cash	1,554.49
Securities (at cost)	4,983.52
Balance June 30, 1960	<hr/> 6,538.01

PAUL R. MURPHY, *Treasurer*

ANNOUNCEMENT

THE FIFTY-FIFTH Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of New England will be held at Holy Cross College in Worcester, Mass. on April 7-8, 1961. The Friday morning session will include a welcome from

the Very Rev. Raymond J. Swords, S.J., Rector of the College, and papers by Rev. George F. Barry on Catullus, Chester F. Natunewicz on his visit to Poland, the Rev. Robert F. Healey, S.J. on the Athenian Law Code of 399 B.C. Other papers on Friday include one or more illustrated lectures and a talk by Eric A. Havelock of Harvard on "The Double Vision of Greek Tragedy." Members will be guests of Holy Cross at dinner on Friday.

On Saturday morning Rev. Alphonsus C. Yumont, S.J. will discuss the SAG approach to Elementary Greek, and James P. Humphreys will present his etymological method as an approach to elementary Latin. Last year's panel on the Advanced Placement Program will be continued by Prof. Margaret Taylor and Miss Doris Kibbe, with opportunity for questions from the audience. Miss Marion B. Steuerwald will discuss the teaching of Cicero, to be followed by a Latin speech by William Dick and an informal meeting on stage of the Societas Latine Loquentium, including Goodwin B. Beach, Joseph Hilbert and others. The meetings will conclude with a visit to the Worcester Art Museum, which is preparing an exhibit of original Roman portrait sculpture.

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SUBSCRIPTIONS

The general price is \$4.25 (U.S.A. and Canada), \$4.50 (foreign). Single copies 65c (U.S.A. and Canada), 70c (foreign); subscriptions for less than a year at the single-copy rate. Subscriptions may be taken through one of the regional associations listed below, annual membership-subscription rate, \$4.25. Members may receive also the CLASSICAL OUTLOOK and CLASSICAL WORLD; for rates consult the regional secretary-treasurer. Members of CAMWS and CAAS have the option of taking either the CLASSICAL JOURNAL or CLASSICAL WORLD.

MEMBERSHIPS

Address the secretary-treasurer of the appropriate regional association. CAMWS, PAUL R. MURPHY, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio. CANE, CLAUDE W. BARLOW, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. CAAS, JOSEPH A. MAURER, 22 Lamberton Hall, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. CAPS (Northern), MRS. MARY JEAN KEWLEY, 11043 S.E. 30th, Bellevue, Wash.; (Central), EDWARD Y. LINDSAY, 3480 Del Paso Blvd., North Sacramento 15, Cal.; (Southern), MRS. LOUISE M. J. JONES, 24262 Sage Ave., Boron, Cal.

CORRESPONDENCE

All general editorial correspondence, MSS, etc. to NORMAN T. PRATT, JR., Department of Classics, Indiana University, Bloomington. Departmental material to the proper editors. MSS from the Atlantic, New England and Pacific states to these regional editors. Concerning subscriptions and details of circulation to PROFESSOR MURPHY (address above). On advertising and other business items to J. D. SADLER, Furman University, Greenville, S.C.

1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the position of the various groups of the population.

2. The second part of the report deals with the economic situation of the country and the position of the various groups of the population.

3. The third part of the report deals with the social situation of the country and the position of the various groups of the population.

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

